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ABSTRACT

Current research literature on the education of language minority students in the United States is reviewed as it relates to the Bilingual Education Act of 1994 (Title VII of the Improving America's Schools Act). The review specifically examines these areas of concern: language diversity in the United States; limited English skills, poverty, and education; challenges for limited-English-proficient (LEP) students; the special status of Native Americans; teacher training and the role of higher education institutions; Title VII instructional programs; promoting high standards and bilingual skills; the national need for language resources; educational technology and LEP students; parent involvement; improving research, evaluation, and data collection; goals of the Title VII program; Title VII and equal educational opportunity; and capacity-building for language-minority education. Contains a glossary and 124 references. (MSE)

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ED 408 858

NCBE REPORT

BEST EVIDENCE:

Research Foundations of the Bilingual Education Act

James Crawford

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March 1997

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Best Evidence:

Research Foundations of the Bilingual Education Act

By James Crawford

March, 1997

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Preface

"No other country is so well-positioned to move into the 21st century, to live in a global society that is more peaceful and more secure—no one. But it all depends upon whether we develop the God-given capacity of every boy and girl in this country, no matter where they live, no matter what their racial or ethnic or religious background is."

President Clinton, October 20, 1994

The *Improving America's Schools Act* (IASA) (P.L. 103-382) enacted in 1994 and signed into law by President Clinton is designed to work in tandem with the *Goals 2000: Educate America Act*, the *School-to-Work Opportunities Act* and the *Safe Schools Act* (Title IV of IASA) to build the capacity of state (SEA) and local education agencies (LEAs) for addressing reform at the local level. Using these legislative acts along with other elements of the education system—LEAs, SEAs, the federal government, parents, teachers and the community—it is believed that systemic (comprehensive) reform can be more effective.

In the writing and preparation of the Title VII portion of the IASA, the Congress included broad-based statements within Part A, "Findings, Policy and Purpose" that establish a basis for federally supported bilingual education program implementation. Although the statements included within Part A may be considered as "givens" by many, investigative research was needed to determine how current research supports the Congressional findings.

A review of current research literature on the education of language minority students in the United States was conducted in light of the statements included in the IASA legislation. The result of the review is the presentation of the "Best Evidence" as it relates to the research foundations of the *Bilingual Education Act* (Title VII of IASA). The author, Jim Crawford, well known for his extensive and incisive writings on bilingual education, has organized the document according to the Congressional findings on the Bilingual Education Act. A discussion of federal policy as it relates to Title VII and some of the issues that have been raised about various aspects of language minority education is included in the Introduction. In providing research evidence for the Congressional findings, related contradictory views are also cited. This document is designed to serve as a resource and reference guide to current research findings about the education of language minority students in this country and the basic premises upon which the Congress formulated the foundations of the *Bilingual Education Act of 1994*.

Minerva Gorena, Ed.D.
NCBE Associate Director

Congressional Findings on the Bilingual Education Act (P.L. 103-382, Oct. 30, 1994)

SEC. 7102. FINDINGS, POLICY, AND PURPOSE.

(a) Findings.—The Congress finds that—

(1) language-minority Americans speak virtually all world languages plus many that are indigenous to the United States;

(2) there are large and growing numbers of children and youth of limited-English proficiency, many of whom have a cultural heritage that differs from that of their English-proficient peers;

(3) the presence of language-minority Americans is related in part to Federal immigration policies;

(4) many language-minority Americans are limited in their English proficiency, and many have limited education and income;

(5) limited English proficient children and youth face a number of challenges in receiving an education that will enable such children and youth to participate fully in American society, including—

(A) segregated education programs;

(B) disproportionate and improper placement in special education and other special programs due to the use of inappropriate evaluation procedures;

(C) the limited-English proficiency of their own parents, which hinders the parents' ability to fully participate in the education of their children; and

(D) a shortage of teachers and other staff who are professionally trained and qualified to serve such children and youth;

(6) Native Americans and Native American languages (as such terms are defined in section 103 of the Native American Languages Act), including native residents of the outlying areas, have a unique status under Federal law that requires special policies within the broad purposes of this Act to serve the education needs of language minority students in the United States;

(7) institutions of higher education can assist in preparing teachers, administrators and other school personnel to understand and build upon the educational strengths and needs of language-minority and culturally diverse student enrollments;

(8) it is the purpose of this title to help ensure that limited English proficient students master English and develop high levels of academic attainment in content areas;

(9) quality bilingual education programs enable children and youth to learn English and meet high academic standards including proficiency in more than one language;

(10) as the world becomes increasingly interdependent and as international communication becomes a daily occurrence in government, business, commerce, and family life, multilingual skills constitute an important national resource which deserves protection and development;

(11) educational technology has the potential for improving the education of language-minority and limited English proficient students and their families, and the Federal Government should foster this development;

(12) parent and community participation in bilingual education programs contributes to program effectiveness;

(13) research, evaluation, and data-collection capabilities in the field of bilingual education need to be strengthened so that educators and other staff can better identify and promote those programs, program implementation strategies, and instructional practices that result in effective education of limited English proficient children;

(14) the use of a child or youth's native language and culture in classroom instruction can—

(A) promote self-esteem and contribute to academic achievement and learning English by limited English proficient children and youth;

(B) benefit English-proficient children and youth who also participate in such programs; and

(C) develop our Nation's national language resources, thus promoting our Nation's competitiveness in the global economy;

(15) the Federal Government, as exemplified by title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and section 204(f) of the Equal Education Opportunities Act of 1974, has a special and continuing obligation to ensure that States and local school districts take appropriate action to provide equal educational opportunities to children and youth of limited English proficiency; and

(16) the Federal Government also, as exemplified by the Federal Government's efforts under this title, has a special and continuing obligation to assist States and local school districts in developing the capacity to provide programs of instruction that offer limited English proficient children and youth an equal educational opportunity.

(b) Policy.—The Congress declares it to be the policy of the United States, in order to ensure equal educational opportunity for all children and youth and to promote educational excellence, to assist State and local educational agencies, institutions of higher education and community-based organizations to build their capacity to establish, implement, and sustain programs of instruction for children and youth of limited English proficiency.

(c) Purpose.—The purpose of this part is to educate limited English proficient children and youth to meet the same rigorous standards for academic performance expected of all children and youth, including meeting challenging State content standards and challenging State student performance standards in academic areas by—

(1) developing systemic improvement and reform of educational programs serving limited English proficient students through the development and implementation of exemplary bilingual education programs and special alternative instruction programs;

(2) developing bilingual skills and multicultural understanding;

(3) developing the English of such children and youth and, to the extent possible, the native language skills of such children and youth;

(4) providing similar assistance to Native Americans with certain modifications relative to the unique status of Native American languages under Federal law;

(5) developing data collection and dissemination, research, materials development, and technical assistance which is focused on school improvement for limited English proficient students; and

(6) developing programs which strengthen and improve the professional training of educational personnel who work with limited English proficient students.

I. Introduction

Congress charted a new policy direction for the Bilingual Education Act when it voted, in 1994, to reauthorize the law for the fifth time. The change came in response to developments in educational research over the past three decades: insights about how children acquire languages and how they excel in other subjects. Drawing on this body of knowledge, the new law incorporates two important principles:

- Given access to challenging curriculum, language-minority and limited-English-Proficient (LEP) students can achieve to the same high standards as other students.

- Proficient bilingualism is a desirable goal, which can bring cognitive, academic, cultural, and economic benefits to individuals and to the nation.[1]

Known as Title VII, Part A, of the Improving America's Schools Act, the legislation includes a section entitled "Findings, Policy, and Purpose." This comprehensive statement explains the federal government's commitment to bilingual education: why the program is needed, how it works, who benefits, and what goals are served. It articulates a policy:

> to assist State and local educational agencies, institutions of higher education and community-based organizations to build their capacity to establish, implement, and sustain programs of instruction for children and youth of limited English proficiency [P.L. 103-382, Sec. 7102(b)].

Finally, it details among its purposes:

> to educate limited English proficient children and youth to meet the same rigorous standards for academic performance expected of all children and youth, including ... developing the English of such children and youth and, to the extent possible, [their] native language skills [Sec. 7102(c)].

Research on bilingual education was in its infancy in 1968, when the law was first enacted. No one could say with certainty whether the pedagogy would be effective. Congress knew only that LEP children faced "serious learning difficulties" in English-only classrooms and that this created "a unique and perplexing educational situation" (P.L. 90-247, Sec. 701). The first Bilingual Education Act was conceived as an experiment. It would offer financial assistance to foster "new and imaginative elementary and secondary school programs to meet these special educational needs" (Sec. 702). Educators would develop instructional approaches, researchers would evaluate their effectiveness, and policy-makers would respond accordingly.

Since that time a great deal has been learned. While not all questions have been answered, research has increasingly proven the effectiveness of well-designed bilingual programs. Of course, language of instruction is just one among many variables that determine how students learn. Teaching children in their native tongue is no guarantee of success. Yet, according to a broad consensus of researchers, there is no basis for the concern that native-language instruction might impede the acquisition of English. To the contrary, there is considerable evidence that skills and knowledge learned in the first language "transfer" readily to the second. Thus time spent in a quality bilingual classroom is time well spent in learning English and other subjects.

English proficiency has been and will remain a central goal of Title VII; but not the only goal. A coequal priority has been achievement in academic content areas. In 1994, Congress added yet another. It recognized the value of preserving, rather than replacing, a child's native language — first, as a foundation for learning, and second, as a source of valuable skills. Again, this policy is consistent with the latest research. Bilingualism is no longer considered a handicap to cognitive growth, but probably an advantage (August & Hakuta 1997). In addition, it is seen as a job skill of increasing importance, a tool of cross-cultural understanding, and a vital resource in the global marketplace and international relations.

In reauthorizing Title VII, Congress also heeded recent studies that show the ineffectiveness of programs stressing remedial instruction in low-level basic skills (e.g., Commission on Chapter 1 1992). It placed a new emphasis on high standards for LEP students and greater accountability for bilingual and English-as-a-second-language (ESL) programs, echoing familiar themes in the movement for school reform. Toward that end, several changes in the

Improving America's Schools Act are aimed at encouraging holistic approaches — that is, efforts to address the unique needs of LEP students *in the context of* efforts to improve schooling for all students. These include:

- a reconfiguration of instructional grants to promote comprehensive schoolwide and district wide programs;
- an enhanced role for state education agencies (SEAs) to facilitate their obligation to address LEP student concerns in systemic reform activities under the Goals 2000: Educate America Act;
- a long-term commitment to strengthening the infrastructure for language-minority education by improving research, evaluation, and professional development;
- an emphasis on serving more LEP students, and serving them more appropriately, through the Title I program for disadvantaged children;
- the consolidation of foreign language assistance, along with bilingual and immigrant education programs, under the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA); and
- new provisions that require the coordination of services for LEP children among school programs funded by Title I, Title VII, migrant education, immigrant education, Indian education, and other sources.

These innovations also helped to frame the discussion of bilingual education in a larger policy context. No longer were LEP students viewed as a special case, defined primarily by a language "deficit" and a need for compensatory programs. Now they were seen as children who share the same capabilities, face many of the same obstacles, and deserve all of the same opportunities as other American children. No longer was the policy discussion focused narrowly on language of instruction — whether to favor bilingual or English-only approaches. Now a broad range of questions was considered, stressing the inclusion of language-minority students in every step toward school reform.

In 1994, Congress maintained a balanced approach on the language-of-instruction issue. Title VII continues to allocate up to 25 percent of its instructional-program budget to support all-English methodologies.(P.L.103-382,Sec.7116[i]). These grants are awarded largely to school districts where bilingual instruction is now impractical. Furthermore, when conditions warrant — for example, a local educational agency (LEA) enrolls LEP students from numerous language groups, or is unable to recruit enough bilingual teachers — the Department of Education may provide additional funding, over and above the 25 percent limit, to such "special alternative instructional programs" (SAIPs; for detailed definitions of this and other program models, *see Glossary*).

At the same time, Congress recognized the substantial benefits of programs that are fully bilingual, especially those that aim to preserve and cultivate children's native-language skills. Helping to build SEAs' and LEAs' capacity to provide such instruction remains the primary focus of Title VII. In addition, the 1994 law states a new funding priority: to promote "the development of bilingual proficiency both in English and another language for all participating students."

Nevertheless, shortly after the reauthorization of Title VII, the policy it embodies came under fierce attack on Capitol Hill and in the press. The 104th Congress considered legislation to repeal the law, to eliminate its funding, and — under a sweeping "English only" proposal — to outlaw most federal government operations in other languages. So far none of these outcomes has occurred. Still, the political climate for bilingual education has never been chillier. Title VII, Part A, appropriations were reduced by 38 percent between 1994 and 1996, forcing deep cuts in grants for instructional programs, terminating aid for teacher training, and reducing the budgets for research, evaluation, and other support services.

Recent debates over Title VII have featured numerous fallacies — about the program itself, about language-minority groups, about second language acquisition, and about educational research. According to a widespread popular image, bilingual education means that most LEP children are enrolled in foreign-language classrooms, where they receive little English instruction and thus learn little English, remaining isolated from the mainstream for five or more years, against the wishes of their parents and at enormous cost to the taxpayers — all because of a federal mandate imposed on local schools.

None of these assumptions is valid. Moreover, they are directly at odds with the findings of Congress when it reauthorized Title VII in 1994. Yet such fallacies have exerted a growing influence on discussions of language-minority education, and they have received wide circulation in the news media. Indeed, as compared with the findings of educational research, press coverage of bilingual education has been disproportionately hostile. A recent survey of publications between 1984 and 1994 found that 82 percent of empirical studies and literature reviews were favorable to bilingual education, as compared with only 45 percent of editorials in major newspapers[1] (McQuillan & Tse, in press). Since public opinion exerts a strong influence on policy-makers, it is important to sort out where the factual truth lies in this debate.

That is the purpose of this report. It will review the research literature that bears on each of the Congressional findings, as well as on contradictory views like those cited above. On that basis it will seek to determine which statements are supported by scientific evidence, which are erroneous, and which cannot be proven or disproven on the basis of current knowledge.

To the extent possible, this review will rely on the latest research: studies published or completed within the past five years. When necessary, it will consider studies that have appeared within the past 12 years. In selecting research to include, the author has relied on database searches of the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, the Education Resources Information Center (ERIC), and the Library of Congress, as well as studies commissioned by the U.S. Department of Education, and suggestions by the staff of OBEMLA.

II. Research on Language-Minority Education: The State of the Art

Researchers have made striking advances since 1968 in the fields of psycholinguistics, second-language acquisition, bilingual pedagogy, and multicultural education. Today we know a great deal more about the challenges faced by language-minority children and about promising strategies for overcoming them.

At the same time, these are evolving disciplines. Like all social science research, studies in these areas are subject to limitations and must be examined critically. Unlike the physical science laboratory, the terrain of educational research is the universe of human behavior, where variables are numerous, unpredictable, and difficult to control. True experiments, featuring the random assignment of students to various educational models being compared, are difficult to design. In large-scale evaluations of bilingual education programs, with enough subjects to make the results generalizable, they have thus far proved impossible. So complex statistical techniques are frequently employed to compensate for pre-existing differences among students, and these are inevitably open to criticism.

Language-minority programs pose their own unique problems for researchers. For example, legal and ethical constraints rule out studies that compare bilingual methodologies with "no treatment" — sink or swim instruction — which the U.S. Supreme Court has outlawed as a violation of LEP children's civil rights (*Lau v. Nichols* 1974). Moreover, the instruments used to gauge students' progress are imperfect, to say the least. Reliable assessments of content knowledge in languages other than English are generally unavailable (Hakuta et al. 1993); so most testing must be conducted in English. Yet English-language tests are considered unreliable, because LEP children differ substantially from the norming population. Studies that compare language-minority program models face several such obstacles.

One approach to reviewing the research literature is to disqualify as meaningless all studies whose methodology fails to meet a predetermined set of standards and to base conclusions on those that remain. While this may appear scientific, there is no consensus on such standards. Thus the procedure is open to abuse, for example, when reviewers use arbitrary criteria to exclude, as

"methodologically unacceptable," the bulk of research with which they disagree and to include mainly those that confirm their biases *(see Section II.G.)*. This approach also tends to discard large amounts of evidence gathered by studies that, while imperfect in design, can be valuable when considered in aggregate.

Another approach begins with the recognition that none of the research is without flaws. Noting that studies vary considerably in methodological rigor, it takes their limitations into account. At the same time, it considers the breadth and consistency of evidence across numerous studies — the totality of research findings — rather than dismissing all those that fall short of certain criteria. Krashen (1996) hypothesizes, for example, that failure to control for pre-existing differences among students is a "flaw [but] not necessarily a fatal one":

> If we look at many studies with nonrandom assignment, and have no reason to believe that subjects in different treatments differ in relevant ways, it can be argued that randomization of subject assignment has, in fact occurred, because of the large number of studies. In other words, many slightly flawed studies can be combined to arrive at a valid analysis.

This report will take the latter approach. It will seek to present the research consensus, to the extent that it exists, on each of the Congressional findings on Title VII. As much as possible, it will rely on studies that meet high professional standards — such as publication in peer-reviewed journals and anthologies — while noting their limitations where appropriate.

A. Language Diversity in the U.S.A.

The Congress finds that—
(1) language-minority Americans speak virtually all world languages plus many that are indigenous to the United States;
(2) there are large and growing numbers of children and youth of limited English proficiency, many of whom have a cultural heritage that differs from that of their English-proficient peers;
(3) the presence of language-minority Americans is related in part to Federal immigration policies;

Language diversity is the demographic reality that inspired the Bilingual Education Act of 1968. In the past 29 years it has increased substantially, as measured by the variety of languages

spoken in the United States, by the number of minority-language speakers, and most dramatically, by the enrollment of LEP students.

The 1990 census counted 6.3 million youths, aged 5-17, who speak languages other than English at home. This marked a 38 percent increase over the previous decade, a period in which the overall school-age population declined by 4.5 percent. By a more expansive definition of "language minority" — living in a home where a non-English language is spoken — there were 9.9 million language-minority children, 22 percent of the school-age population (Anstrom 1996).

More than 325 languages are now used at home by U.S. residents, including at least 137 Native American languages, according to the Census Bureau (1993a). Virtually all of the world's 100 most commonly spoken languages are represented here (Grimes, in press; *see Table I*). If anything, these statistics understate the nation's diversity, owing to an acknowledged undercount of minorities and other limitations of census data on language use.[2] For example, Krauss (1996) has identified 175 Native American languages still spoken in the United States.

An estimated 31,844,979 U.S. residents — nearly one in seven — spoke home languages other than English in 1990. They lived in 14 million households, 16 percent of the nation's total. Of these minority-language speakers, 44 percent reported speaking English less than "very well" (Census Bureau 1993a) — a response that some researchers regard as a proxy for limited English proficiency[3] (MacArthur 1993). Approximately 38 percent of language-minority, school-age youth were in this category in 1990; that is, they had "some difficulty" with English (Census Bureau 1993b).

In 1993-94, SEAs reported 2,804,556 LEP students enrolled in states and the District of Columbia — 7 percent of the nation's elementary and secondary school population — with annual increases averaging nearly 10 percent (Donly et al. 1995). This total is surely an under-count, since three states declined to participate in the Title VII SEA grant program or to report their LEP enrollments to OBEMLA. There are also significant discrepancies between census and SEA estimates *(see Table II)*. No doubt these differences reflect variations among states, districts, and schools in the ways LEP students are identified, counted, and served, as well as census

undercounts.[4] The lack of uniform criteria and procedures[5] makes it impossible to place much confidence in estimates of LEP enrollments nationwide (CCSSO 1990). In the past decade, conservative estimates have ranged from 1.4 million to 3.7 million (Hopstock & Bucaro 1993).

Table I. Language Spoken at Home and Ability to Speak English for Persons 5 Years and Over: United States, 1990

HOME LANGUAGE		ENGLISH ABILITY			
1990 RANK	TOTAL	VERY WELL	WELL	NOT WELL	NOT AT ALL
UNITED STATES	230,466,777				
ENGLISH ONLY	198,600,798				
TOTAL NON-ENGLISH	31,844,979	17,862,477	7,310,301	4,862,958	1,845,243
1 SPANISH	17,339,172	9,033,407	3,804,792	3,040,828	1,460,145
2 FRENCH	1,702,176	1,226,043	318,409	149,505	8,219
3 GERMAN	1,547,099	1,161,127	284,809	96,804	4,359
4 ITALIAN	1,308,648	874,032	283,354	134,114	17,148
5 CHINESE	1,249,213	496,277	379,720	264,240	108,976
6 TAGALOG	843,251	556,252	223,971	58,320	4,708
7 POLISH	723,483	455,551	169,548	85,298	13,086
8 KOREAN	626,478	242,939	195,120	154,617	33,802
9 VIETNAMESE	507,069	186,207	177,689	118,180	24,993
10 PORTUGUESE	429,860	235,283	96,243	71,305	27,029
11 JAPANESE	427,657	203,197	133,364	83,276	7,820
12 GREEK	388,260	266,072	78,153	38,799	5,236
13 ARABIC	355,150	235,509	82,149	31,596	5,896
14 HINDI(URDU)	331,484	234,705	67,276	24,365	5,138
15 RUSSIAN	241,798	110,368	66,126	50,365	14,939
16 YIDDISH	213,064	151,377	44,213	15,431	2,043
17 THAI(LAOTIAN)	206,266	78,246	70,177	47,374	10,469
18 PERSIAN	201,865	125,135	51,517	19,749	5,464
19 FRENCH CREOLE	187,658	89,056	56,730	35,710	6,162
20 ARMENIAN	149,694	74,586	36,408	25,401	13,299
21 NAVAHO	148,530	82,261	44,481	14,172	7,616
22 HUNGARIAN	147,902	96,200	37,875	12,691	1,136
23 HEBREW	144,292	110,440	26,685	6,471	696
24 DUTCH	142,684	108,936	27,888	5,470	390
25 CAMBODIAN	127,441	33,996	38,782	40,921	13,742
26 GUJARATHI	102,418	67,704	22,657	8,998	3,059
27 UKRAINIAN	96,568	60,949	22,515	11,870	1,234
28 CZECH	92,485	65,336	21,435	5,422	292
29 PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH	83,525	47,402	31,310	4,112	701
30 MIAO (HMONG)	81,877	18,328	25,645	26,505	11,399
31 NORWEGIAN	80,723	63,681	12,706	4,147	162
32 SLOVAK	80,388	58,311	16,322	5,503	252
33 SWEDISH	77,511	62,724	11,364	3,234	189
34 SERBO-CROATIOAN	70,964	43,303	18,149	8,365	1,147
35 KRU	65,848	53,563	10,630	1,511	144
36 RUMANIAN	65,265	33,552	20,332	8,922	2,459
37 LITHUANIAN	55,781	38,775	11,930	4,820	256
38 FINNISH	54,350	40,996	10,230	3,001	123
39 PANJABI	50,005	31,837	10,448	5,616	2,104
40 FORMOSAN	46,044	20,791	15,562	7,712	1,979
41 CROATIAN	45,206	29,989	10,964	3,912	341
42 TURKISH	41,876	25,684	10,515	4,653	1,024
43 ILOCANO	41,131	18,197	14,770	7,354	810
44 BENGALI	38,101	25,417	9,808	2,578	298
45 DANISH	35,639	29,665	4,771	1,135	68
46 SYRIAC	35,146	20,636	9,106	3,956	1,448
47 SAMOAN	34,914	23,660	7,712	3,129	413
48 MALAYALAM	33,949	21,131	10,093	2,006	719
49 CAJUN	33,670	23,834	7,577	2,073	186
50 AMHARIC	31,505	18,643	9,359	3,078	425

Source: Census Bureau 1993a.

Table II. Estimates of Limited English Proficiency: Census Data vs. State Education Agency Reports

STATE	1990 CENSUS, AGES 5-17 Speaks Non-English Language	1990 CENSUS, AGES 5-17 Difficulty with English	SEA REPORTS Identified LEP's 1990-91	DIFFERENCE (SEA less Census estimate) Number	DIFFERENCE (SEA less Census estimate) Percentage
Alabama	23,122	8,117	1,052	-7,065	-87
Alaska	11,158	4,111	11,184	+7,073	+172
Arizona	156,782	61,069	65,727	+4,658	+8
Arkansas	13,587	4,304	2,000	-2,304	-54
California	1,878,957	796,905	986,462	+64,626	+8
Colorado	51,202	17,908	17,187	-721	-4
Connecticut	78,041	26,738	16,988	-9,750	-36
Delaware	7,403	2,765	1,969	-796	-29
D.C.	9,444	3,989	3,379	-610	-15
Florida	360,462	113,441	83,937	-29,504	-26
Georgia	55,976	19,834	6,487	-13,347	-67
Hawaii	29,600	11,253	9,730	-1,523	-14
Idaho	13,241	4,633	3,986	-677	-15
Illinois	302,087	102,031	79,281	-22,750	-22
Indiana	51,651	19,078	4,670	-14,408	-76
Iowa	20,740	7,375	3,705	-3,670	-50
Kansas	25,036	8,818	4,661	-4,157	-47
Kentucky	20,063	7,475	1,071	-6,404	-86
Louisiana	49,382	16,826	8,345	-8,481	-50
Maine	9,886	2,665	1,983	-682	-26
Maryland	67,904	21,879	12,701	-9,178	-42
Massachusetts	143,528	50,444	42,606	-7,838	-16
Michigan	95,963	27,815	37,112	+9,297	+33
Minnesota	42, 163	17,013	13,204	-3,809	-22
Mississippi	16,594	6,168	2,753	-3,415	-55
Missouri	33,731	12,230	3,815	-8,415	-69
Montana	6,382	2,102	6,635	+4,533	+216
Nebraska	11,256	3,323	1,257	-2,066	-62
Nevada	24,055	8,953	9,057	+104	+1
New Hampshire	8,561	2,587	1,146	-1,441	-56
New Jersey	245,795	76,273	47,560	-28,713	-38
New Mexico	94,719	33,779	73,505	+39,726	+118
New York	700,788	247,948	168,208	-79,740	-32
North Carolina	54,382	21,784	6,030	-15,754	-72
North Dakota	3,456	894	7,187	+6,293	+704
Ohio	100,589	36,570	8,992	-27,578	-75
Oklahoma	28,351	9,473	15,860	+6,387	+67
Oregon	36,776	13,169	7,557	-5,612	-43
Pennsylvania	136,203	49,787	15,000*	-34,787	-70
Rhode Island	25,970	8,928	7,632	-1,296	-15
South Carolina	23,346	8,068	1,205	-6,863	-85
South Dakota	5,849	1,930	6,691	+4,761	+247
Tennessee	28,694	9,702	3,660	-6,042	-62
Texas	974,282	391,881	313,234	-78,647	-20
Utah	25,434	8,428	14,860	+6,432	+76
Vermont	3,212	774	500	-274	-35
Virginia	74,634	23,668	15,130*	-8,538	-36
Washington	78,287	30,077	28,646	-1,431	-5
West Virginia	9,129	2,815	231	-2,584	-92
Wisconsin	51,171	19,320	14,648	-4,672	-24
Wyoming	3,940	1,118	1,919	+801	+72
TOTAL	6,322,934	2,388,243	2,201,995	-186,248	-8

*Estimated by OBEMLA. SEAs in Pennsylvania and Virginia did not participate in Title VII and did not report LEP enrollments.

Sources: Census Bureau 1993b; OBEMLA 1992.

The growth of this population is especially rapid in a handful of immigrant-receiving states, six of which enroll an estimated 72 percent of the nation's LEP students (GAO 1994). California, the most heavily impacted state, saw its LEP enrollments nearly quadruple between 1980 and 1995, from 325,748 to 1,262,982 children in grades K-12 (CDE 1995).

At the same time, the 1990 census found that LEP students are distributed throughout the nation. They numbered at least 500, or accounted for at least 5 percent of the school-age population, in 533 counties in 47 states. In a third of those counties and in 24 of the 25 largest metropolitan areas, there were at least 10 minority tongues represented (GAO 1994).

Spanish is by far the most prevalent minority language, spoken by about three out of four LEP students (Fleischman & Hopstock 1993). Yet the LEP population is increasingly diverse. The 1990 census identified 33 home languages other than English with at least 100,000 speakers (Waggoner 1995). New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Fairfax County, Virginia, are among school districts with at least 20 students speaking each of more than 100 different languages (McDonnell & Hill 1993).

Immigration is a major factor in the new diversity. The minority-language population grew by 38 percent during the 1980s; those who have difficulty with English, by 37 percent; and the number of foreign-born residents, by 40 percent. These statistics are causally related. Since 1965, federal immigration policy has increased both the volume and the diversity of newcomers, who now come largely from non-English-speaking countries (Vialet 1991). The proportion of foreign-born nearly doubled, from 4.8 percent of the U.S. population in 1970 to 8.7 percent in 1994 (Census Bureau 1995a).

Even more significant for American schools, immigrant children now represent a dazzling array of cultures. To take an extreme example, in 1995-96 New York City enrolled recent arrivals from 204 different countries. Largely because of immigration, U.S. residents of Hispanic origin increased by 53 percent in the 1980s, while those of Asian and Pacific Islander backgrounds increased by 108 percent, as compared with a 9.8 percent growth in the population as a whole.

Still, it is important to note that more than half of minority-language speakers and more than a third of those who report some difficulty in English were born in the United States (Fix & Passel 1994). An estimated 41 percent of LEP elementary-school students are native-born (Fleischman & Hopstock 1993). These are the children of both recent immigrants and long-established ethnic groups: Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, Alaska Natives, Chinese Americans, and others. These native-born language minorities are growing more rapidly than the general population because of higher fertility rates. The 1990 census counted more Hispanic women (50 percent) in their child-bearing years (ages 15-44) than non-Hispanic white women (43 percent), and determined that, over her lifetime, the average Hispanic woman bears 1.3 times as many children (Waggoner 1993b).

There is no question that the growth of minority languages has had a significant impact on American communities and, in particular, on American schools. Nevertheless, this demographic trend is often misunderstood.

Fallacy: English is losing ground to other languages in the United States.

Linguistic diversity is hardly unprecedented in our history. At the time of the nation's first census in 1790, French, Spanish, Irish, Dutch, Swedish, and Welsh were well represented, not to mention more than 300 indigenous languages. Meanwhile, German Americans accounted for 8.6 percent of the population — a proportion comparable to that of Hispanic Americans, 9.0 percent, exactly two centuries later (Crawford 1995).

More world languages are spoken in the United States today than ever before. But this is a quantitative, not a qualitative change from earlier periods. Concentrations of minority-language speakers were common in the 19th century, as reflected by laws authorizing vernacular instruction in a dozen states and territories. In big cities as well as rural areas, children attended bilingual and non-English schools, learning in languages as diverse as French, Norwegian, Czech, and Cherokee. In 1900, there were at least 600,000 elementary school children, public and parochial, receiving part or all of their instruction in the German language — about 4 percent of the nation's elementary school enrollment at the time — and this is probably a conservative estimate (Kloss

1977). Yet English survived without any help from government, for example, in the form of official-language legislation.

Fallacy: Newcomers to the United States are learning English more slowly now than in previous generations.

To the contrary, today's immigrants appear to be acquiring English more rapidly than ever before. While the number of minority-language speakers is projected to grow well into the next century, the number of bilinguals is growing even faster. Between 1980 and 1990, the number of immigrants who speak non-English languages at home increased by 59 percent, while the portion of this population that speaks English "very well" rose by 93 percent (Waggoner 1995b). In 1990, 3 percent of U.S. residents reported speaking English less than "well" or "very well." Only eight-tenths of one percent spoke no English at all — a proportion that was 4.5 times as large in the 1890 census.

About three in four Hispanic immigrants, after 15 years in this country, speak English on a regular daily basis, while 70 percent of their children become dominant or monolingual in English, often losing their Spanish skills (Veltman 1988). This does not necessarily mean, however, that such children attain the academic proficiency in English needed for success in school *(see section II.F)*. Hence their need for special language assistance such as bilingual education.

B. Limited English Skills, Poverty, and Education

The Congress finds that—
(4) many language-minority Americans are limited in their English proficiency, and many have limited education and income;

The 1990 census counted nearly 14 million persons — 6 percent of the U.S. population — who report some difficulty with English. This group was 12 times as likely to have completed less than five years of schooling and half as likely to have graduated from high school, as compared with native English speakers (Waggoner 1995c). In addition, children from such households were 50 percent more likely to live in poverty (Census Bureau 1995b). *Prospects*, a national study of

the Chapter 1 program, found that 54 percent of LEP children in grades 1 and 3 came from families with incomes under $15,000 — twice the rate for all public school students (Moss & Puma 1995). At all grade levels, 77 percent of LEP students qualified for free or reduced-price lunches in 1991 (Fleischman & Hopstock 1993).

Poverty is associated with numerous social ills that affect children's readiness to learn, including health problems, crime-ridden neighborhoods, substandard housing, domestic violence, substance abuse, and family mobility, as parents move frequently to find work. For LEP immigrant and refugee children, these difficulties are often exacerbated by the stress of adjusting to a new culture (CCSSO 1990).

C. Challenges for LEP Students

The Congress finds that—

> *(5) limited English proficient children and youth face a number of challenges in receiving an education that will enable such children and youth to participate fully in American society, including—*
>
> > *(A) segregated education programs;*
> >
> > *(B) disproportionate and improper placement in special education and other special programs due to the use of inappropriate evaluation procedures;*
> >
> > *(C) the limited English proficiency of their own parents, which hinders the parents' ability to fully participate in the education of their children; and*
> >
> > *(D) a shortage of teachers and other staff who are professionally trained and qualified to serve such children and youth;*

Racial and Ethnic Segregation

Many of the educational problems of LEP children stem from their segregation in urban schools, which are disproportionately poor, nonwhite, underfunded, and underachieving. Over the past three decades, this trend has increased steadily for Hispanic students, who are now more segregated than any other group, including African-American students. In 1991-92, 73 percent of Hispanic children attended elementary and secondary schools with predominantly minority enrollments, up from 55 percent in 1968-69. Meanwhile, 34 percent attended schools where more than nine in ten students were minorities, up from 23 percent a generation earlier (Orfield et al. 1993).

LEP children, on average, are even more segregated. In 1991-92, 55 percent attended schools with 91 to 100 percent minority enrollments, as compared with 19 percent of other language minorities and 5 percent of native English speakers (Bennici & Strang 1995).

For such children, education remains both separate and unequal. LEP students are more than twice as likely, as compared with their 1st and 3rd grade peers, to attend inner-city schools with high concentrations of poor and minority students. Still, these patterns varied considerably by ethnic group. In 1991-92, about half of LEP Hispanic 1st graders were in high-poverty schools, versus 8 percent of LEP Asian 1st graders (Moss & Puma 1995).

Segregated schools are also characterized by fewer resources, older facilities, less experienced teachers, fewer college preparatory courses, and higher dropout rates. Orfield et al. (1993) conclude that "children in such schools are literally cut off from avenues to opportunity commonly available in middle class schools." Other recent studies document a "stubborn relation between school segregation of Chicanos and lowered academic achievement," reduced high school graduation rates, and limited college attendance (Donato et al. 1993).

Fallacy: Bilingual education encourages the racial and ethnic segregation of language minorities.[6]

In the past, limited English proficiency has sometimes provided a pretext for segregating minority children — Mexican American students in particular. Since the early 1970s, several states have attempted to alleviate this problem by requiring the inclusion of English-proficient students in bilingual classrooms (Donato et al. 1993). Nevertheless, there is sometimes a conflict — encountered, for example, in court-ordered desegregation plans — between the goals of maximum integration and a "meaningful education" for LEP students, another civil rights mandate (*Lau v. Nichols* 1974). To provide appropriate language assistance, some grouping of children by language ability is often necessary. Yet this need not prevent their integration with English-proficient peers for certain classes or in "two-way" bilingual programs, which have proven beneficial to both groups *(see section II.L)*.

The potential for isolating LEP students is real, especially as schools group them to make efficient use of the limited supply of bilingual and ESL teachers. There is little merit, however, in blaming bilingual education for racial segregation. For one thing, only a small percentage of Latino students who attend predominantly minority schools are enrolled in bilingual classrooms. Moreover, as one principal in East Los Angeles explains, bilingual education often has no impact on racial balance: "We were 99.9 percent Hispanic. There was no one else to integrate with" (quoted in Crawford 1995). Residential segregation and academic tracking are far more significant factors in the isolation of LEP students (Donato et al. 1993).

Improper Assessment and Placement

Language-minority students have long been overrepresented in special education classrooms. Teachers and administrators often confuse the consequences of limited English proficiency, such as underachievement or inattention in class, with learning disabilities or speech and language disorders. These mistakes are serious, since improper placements of LEP children without real handicaps can be harmful to children's development. One recent study found that Hispanic students labeled "learning disabled" lost ground on IQ tests and failed to improve on achievement tests after three years in special education (Ortiz 1992).

At the same time, LEP children who truly are handicapped and do need special help are frequently overlooked, again because of schools' failure to provide language-appropriate assessments. In a 1987 survey, 28 of 34 responding SEAs said they provided no guidelines to school districts on how to evaluate and place LEP students in special education (CCSSO 1990). Some recent evidence suggests that Hispanic children are now being assigned to such programs at rates more proportionate to their numbers. But "questions still persist as to whether the right students are being identified and served." Research into these questions remains limited (Ortiz 1995).

Misclassification as educationally handicapped is symptomatic of a broader set of problems: inadequate identification, language assessment, achievement testing, and classroom placement of LEP students in general. While state guidelines vary considerably in these areas, most are too

broad to be of value to local districts. Only 12 of 34 eastern SEAs require specific procedures for identification and placement of LEP children that would help to prevent mislabeling (O'Malley & Pierce 1994). Faced with the language barrier, schools commonly exclude LEP students from state-mandated tests and other assessments for accountability — creating a major obstacle to their inclusion in school reform efforts *(see section II.K)*.

Fallacy: Hispanic and Asian children are assigned to bilingual programs on the basis of ethnicity, regardless of their English skills.

Notwithstanding the limitations of SEA oversight, virtually all states specify multiple criteria for identifying children who need special language assistance. In 1993-94, half of SEAs reported using at least 10 different standards in placing LEP students. These typically included a home language survey and various measures of English proficiency — both objective and subjective — such as teacher judgments, oral assessments, and achievement tests (Donly et al. 1995). The *Prospects* study could find no evidence that schools are violating such state policies by arbitrarily assigning students to bilingual classrooms solely because of their family surnames or language backgrounds (Moss & Puma 1995).

Parents' English Skills

The 1990 census determined that 28 percent of language-minority children, aged 5-17 are "linguistically isolated"; that is, they live in households where no one over the age of 14 speaks English "very well" (Census Bureau 1993b). Only one-quarter to one-third of the parents of LEP students in grades 1 and 3 rate themselves as fully proficient in English, while 40 percent of them never speak English, or speak it only rarely, in the home (Moss & Puma 1995).

Parents whose English is limited are often discouraged from full participation in their children's education, because of the language barrier and because of their unfamiliarity with the institutional culture of American schools. Yet these obstacles are not insuperable if educators take conscious steps to empower parents. Most obvious, schools can translate parent meetings and informational materials into prevalent community languages. Second, they can offer adult English

classes and family literacy programs. Third, they can make explicit the sociocultural knowledge — the unstated rules and behavioral expectations — that parents need to participate in a range of school activities. Fourth, they can invite parents to volunteer at the school, for example, as instructional aides. Finally, they can enter into power-sharing relationships, encouraging parents to form advocacy groups and enabling them to share in decision-making about school programs and policies (Delgado-Gaitan 1991).

Certain pedagogical models, such as developmental bilingual education, also facilitate parental involvement. In a national longitudinal study, Spanish-speaking children in "late-exit" bilingual programs — which used the native language more extensively — were more likely to receive a parent's help with homework than those in "early exit" bilingual and English immersion programs (Ramírez et al. 1991).

Shortage of Bilingual and ESL Teachers

Enrollments of LEP children are increasing faster than staff can be trained to serve them. The resulting shortage of qualified bilingual and ESL teachers has been called "the single greatest barrier to the improvement of instructional programs for LEP students" (Gold 1992). It also accounts for the continuing neglect of a substantial minority of these children, who receive no special language assistance — in violation of a two-decade-old mandate *(see section II.M)*.

While teacher certification requirements vary, they generally involve coursework beyond a regular certificate and, for bilingual and sometimes for ESL teachers, proficiency in a second language. Thirty-one states and the District of Columbia offer a certification or endorsement in bilingual education and 41 do so in ESL, while eight credential teachers in neither field (Fleischman et al. 1995).

According to the National Education Goals Panel (1995), 40 percent of U.S. teachers had LEP students in their classrooms in 1994. But of these teachers, only 29 percent had received any training - much less certification - in serving LEP students. A 1992 survey found that 93 percent of such teachers were non-Hispanic whites; only 42 percent spoke a native tongue of their LEP

students; and a mere 10 percent were certified in bilingual education, 8 percent in ESL (Fleischman & Hopstock 1993).

National estimates of the shortage of qualified teachers for LEP students range as high as 175,000 (GAO 1994). But comprehensive and reliable figures are lacking because most SEAs do not collect such data (Fleischman et al. 1995). The California Department of Education (CDE), one of the few exceptions, reports a four-fold increase in the shortage of bilingual teachers between 1985 and 1995 — to 20,692. The unmet demand is strong in all languages, including Spanish; in some it is acute. For example, in 1994-95, the state had only seven certified bilingual teachers to serve 30,345 Hmong-speaking LEP students. By comparison, California has made somewhat more progress in certifying ESL teachers, but the CDE still estimates a shortage of 12,021 to meet current staffing needs (Gold 1995). These figures were calculated before the state's 1996 initiative to reduce class sizes.

The inadequate supply of bilingual teachers has forced many schools to rely on uncertified aides, whose only qualification in many cases is the ability to speak a language other than English. In 1991-92, nearly three out of five LEP children in high-poverty schools nationwide were taught English reading by such paraprofessionals, most with no education beyond high school (Moss & Puma 1995).

Growing LEP enrollments naturally pit school districts in competition with each other for qualified staff. In a recent national survey, eight out of ten LEAs reported "some" to "a lot" of difficulty in recruiting bilingual teachers and more than half in recruiting ESL teachers (Fleischman & Hopstock 1993). The National Center for Education Statistics found that it is "very difficult" or "impossible" to find qualified candidates for 38 percent of such positions (Leighton et al. 1995). Nevertheless, according to the 1987-88 Schools and Staffing Survey, only 11 percent of districts paid stipends to attract such teachers and only 26 percent offered free inservice training (Pelavin Associates 1991).

D. Special Status of Native Americans

The Congress finds that—
(6) Native Americans and Native American languages (as such terms are defined in section 103 of the Native American Languages Act), including native residents of the outlying areas, have a unique status under Federal law that requires special policies within the broad purposes of this Act to serve the education needs of language-minority students in the United States;

Native Americans — that is, American Indians, Alaskan Natives, Native Hawaiians, and Native Pacific Islanders — encounter special academic problems that flow from the erosion of their traditional cultures. In particular, "a loss of Native language ability and the wisdom of older generations" is associated with identity confusion and school failure among Native students (Indian Nations at Risk 1991). This compounds the stress such children already feel from the conflicting demands of indigenous and Western values — forcing them "to `walk in two worlds' with only one language" (Reyhner & Tennant 1995).

Native American languages have been declining for the past century owing to numerous factors, notably encroachments by the dominant culture and policies of linguistic genocide practiced by federal Indian schools until the 1960s (McCarty, in press). The threat of language extinction appears to be increasing — even on isolated reservations, where tribal tongues survive among elders but many children grow up speaking only English (Crawford 1996a). According to the Alaska Native Language Center, only 20 Native American languages, 11 percent of those still spoken, continue to be learned by the youngest generations (Krauss 1996). The remainder are "moribund"; that is, unless current trends can be reversed, they will soon have no living speakers.

Congress sought to counter this threat with the Native American Language Acts of 1990 and 1992. The first of these laws states a new federal policy "to preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages" as a matter of "self-determination" (P.L. 101-477). The second authorizes a grant program to assist Indian tribes and other Native organizations in preserving and revitalizing endangered languages (P.L. 102-524).

While most Native American students are English-dominant today, many remain LEP due to the influence of indigenous vernaculars and nonstandard English dialects[7] (Leap 1993). This special situation was not fully recognized by Congress until 1978, when the Bilingual Education Act's definition of limited English proficiency was expanded to address the unique needs of Native Americans. Early Title VII programs for such students tended to stress a rapid transition to English. On average, they featured significantly more English instruction and significantly less native-language instruction than bilingual programs serving other ethnic groups (Rudes et al. 1988).

Nevertheless, programs that nurture rather than neglect the indigenous vernacular now appear more promising as educational models for Native American students. These approaches, such as two-way and developmental bilingual education and Native-language immersion, can provide an antidote for children's cultural disorientation — a malady associated with the growing incidence of language loss. Consequently, such "bilingual programs are [as] concerned with reversing the shift toward English as with facilitating its acquisition" (McCarty, in press). Bilingualism thus becomes both an educational goal and a pedagogical means. A growing number of Native American schools have embraced the mission of revitalizing indigenous languages, often with impressive academic results (for examples, see Ovando & Gourd 1996).

E. Teacher Training and the Role of IHEs

The Congress finds that—
(7) institutions of higher education can assist in preparing teachers, administrators and other school personnel to understand and build upon the educational strengths and needs of language-minority and culturally diverse student enrollments;

Institutions of higher education (IHEs) have played an essential role in developing bilingual and ESL staff, thanks in large measure to Title VII support through its teacher-training and graduate fellowship programs. Since there were few qualified bilingual administrators, resource specialists, counselors, curriculum developers, or classroom teachers in 1968, the Bilingual Education Act has historically put great emphasis on professional development. Current law reserves at least 25 percent of the Title VII, Part A, budget for that purpose.[8]

The Bilingual Education Fellowship Program, created in 1974 to support study at the graduate level, has produced many of today's leaders in the field of bilingual education. A follow-up survey of former Title VII fellows determined that 82 percent were working, or had worked, in bilingual-education related activities, such as teacher-training, program administration, and educational research. It also found that 83 percent of Master's fellows, 72 percent of post-Master's students, and 46 percent of doctoral candidates had completed their degrees[9] (MayaTech 1991).

Meanwhile, the Bilingual Education Personnel Training Program has been important in supplying teachers who are both certified in methodologies for instructing LEP children and proficient in their native languages. A study of projects funded under this program at 81 IHEs in 27 states, determined that approximately half of the 3,403 teachers in training in 1991 could not have continued without Title VII support. Virtually all of the remainder said that without these scholarships it would take them considerably longer to complete their education. As measured by its contribution to the bilingual teacher supply, this program has been remarkably effective. Among recent graduates surveyed, 93 percent had found professional positions in education and 77 percent were working with LEP children (Riccobono 1992).

Federal funding has been critical in attracting minority teacher candidates, who generally have fewer resources for higher education. But IHEs themselves could show more initiative in this area. A review of 46 teacher-education programs in the Southwest found that attempts to recruit Latinos to the teaching profession "are sporadic at best. Academic support, program counseling, financial, and orientation programs in teacher education seldom target Latino students" (Cox 1993). IHEs could also do more to assist paraprofessionals — an important pool of potential bilingual teachers — to overcome financial, academic, and bureaucratic obstacles to becoming certified (Genzuk et al. 1994).

Still, there are some salient exceptions. A recent case study identified 12 exemplary IHE programs for training the teachers of LEP students (Leighton et al. 1995). Among their common characteristics are:

- "high standards for professional performance," but with students allowed time and flexibility to meet them;
- "adequate, stable, and long-term financial support";
- a "systemic vision" that gives "high priority to programmatic coherence and coordination of" services for LEP students;
- "personnel stability, including employment incentives that take into account multiple forms of productivity";
- close collaboration between school districts and IHEs; and
- an orientation that stresses the "preservation of language resources" (Leighton et al. 1995).

Milk et al. (1992) report a growing consensus among IHEs that prospective bilingual and ESL teachers need "to create challenging learning environments for language-minority students." Thus teacher-training should emphasize "practice and assumptions underlying that practice, not ... discrete skills." This approach to teaching stresses active and cooperative learning environments, higher-order thinking skills, and contextualized environments for language-learning (Milk et al. 1992).

F. Title VII Instructional Programs

The Congress finds that—
(8) it is the purpose of this title to help ensure that limited English proficient students master English and develop high levels of academic attainment in content areas;

English-language instruction is a key component of all bilingual education programs in the United States, whether funded by Title VII or state and local resources (Hopstock et al. 1993a). Yet English acquisition is just one of several critical skills and areas of knowledge that LEP students need to master. Research has shown that mainly stressing English proficiency, in hopes of overcoming students' "language handicap" as quickly as possible, is a recipe for underachievement. In classrooms guided by such thinking, there is frequently an inverse

relationship between the amount of English instruction and the academic progress of LEP students (Cummins 1992; Ramírez 1991). For many years this *deficit model* of schooling confined minority children to a prison of low expectations, while their English-speaking peers were learning critical thinking skills (Hakuta et al. 1993).

Title VII's mission is to help schools make the curriculum accessible to LEP students, by teaching English and by providing bilingual or "sheltered English" instruction to make subjects comprehensible. Many researchers now recommend a combination of both approaches, not only to provide access to academic content, but also to teach children a second language without replacing their first (see, e.g., Ramírez 1991). Meanwhile, there is a growing body of evidence that developing students' native language skills supports their acquisition of English.

While this may seem counterintuitive, the linguistic theory underlying bilingual education is straightforward, if not widely understood. As Krashen (1996) explains:

> We acquire language by understanding messages, by obtaining *comprehensible input*. Similarly, we develop literacy from reading. ... When we give children quality education in their primary language, we give them two things:
>
> 1. Knowledge, both general knowledge of the world and subject-matter knowledge, [which] helps make the English they hear more comprehensible. This results in more English acquisition.
> 2. Literacy, which *transfers* across languages. Here is a simple, three-step argument: ... (1) We learn to read by reading, by making sense of what we see on the page. (2) If we learn to read by reading, it will be much easier to learn to read in a language we already understand. (3) Once you can read, you can read. The ability to read transfers across languages [emphasis added].

Empirical studies have documented the transferability of skills between a variety of languages — several are summarized by Krashen (1996) and Cummins (1988) — as well as the academic benefits of well-designed bilingual programs *(see section II.G)*. Thus fears that native-language instruction is a distraction from English appear to be groundless.

Fallacy: The more children are exposed to English, the more English they will learn.[10]

This idea sounds like nothing more than common sense. Wouldn't a full day's instruction in any subject yield faster progress than a half day's instruction? Not when it comes to language. There is no credible research to support the "time on task" theory of English acquisition — which has recently been abandoned by some of its best-known proponents (Rossell & Baker 1996). As noted above, second-language input must be comprehensible to lead to acquisition; otherwise it amounts to meaningless noise. Research suggests that language acquisition is a natural process that cannot be speeded up (Collier & Thomas 1989) — although no doubt it can be slowed down through inappropriate schooling.

Some critics of bilingual education (e.g., Porter 1996) have cited as evidence for the time-on-task notion a report by the New York City Board of Education (1994), in which LEP children in ESL-only programs were reassigned to mainstream classrooms more rapidly than those in bilingual programs. Yet this "study" falls short of minimal standards of educational research, failing to control for ethnicity, family income, parental literacy, and other factors that can affect student performance. In effect, the report compares Spanish-speaking students (largely enrolled in bilingual classrooms) with Russian- , Chinese- , and Japanese-speaking students (largely enrolled in ESL programs), without considering socioeconomic differences among these groups (Krashen 1996).

Fallacy: LEP children are retained "too long" in bilingual classrooms, at the expense of English acquisition.[11]

Research over the past two decades has determined that, despite appearances, it takes children a long time to attain proficiency in a second language — especially the kind of decontextualized language needed to succeed in school. Often LEP students are quick to learn the conversational English used on the playground. But they normally need four to seven years to acquire academic English, if provided quality bilingual education, or seven to ten years, if provided only ESL instruction (Collier & Thomas 1989).

For Title VII policy the implications are clear. Developmental bilingual programs — which emphasize a gradual transition to English and offer native-language instruction (in declining amounts) through the 5th or 6th grade — provide continuity in children's cognitive growth and lay a foundation for academic success in the second language. By contrast, English-only approaches and quick-exit bilingual programs can interrupt that growth at a crucial stage, with negative effects on achievement (Cummins 1992).

Fallacy: School districts provide bilingual instruction in scores of native languages.[12]

Where LEP children are linguistically diverse, rarely are there sufficient numbers of each language group to make bilingual instruction practical for everyone. But in any case, the shortage of qualified teachers usually makes it impossible. For example, in 1994 California enrolled recently arrived immigrants from 136 different countries, but bilingual teachers were certified in only 17 languages — 96 percent of them in Spanish (CDE 1995). To the extent that LEP children received help in other tongues, they received it almost entirely from paraprofessionals.

Fallacy: Bilingual education means instruction mainly in students' native language, with little instruction in English.[13]

Before 1994, the vast majority of U.S. bilingual education programs were transitional (TBE). That is, they encouraged an early exit to mainstream, English-language classrooms. Over the years, only a tiny fraction of bilingual educational programs were developmental (DBE) — designed to maintain the native tongues of LEP students. In 1978, Congress eliminated Title VII funding for such programs altogether. In 1984, it reopened the door to a small number of DBE grants and also authorized grants for special alternative instructional programs (SAIPs) using only English. From FY1985 through FY1992, 73.4 percent of Title VII, Part A, funding for instructional programs supported TBE, 12.4 percent supported SAIPs, and 1.6 percent supported DBE.[14] In 1994, Congress eliminated these grant categories in favor of holistic program models.

Today a majority of bilingual programs continue to deliver a substantial portion of the curriculum in English. According to the *Descriptive Study of Services*, school districts reported that 28 percent of LEP elementary school students receive no native-language instruction at all. Among the remainder — those who receive some form of bilingual education — about a third are

taught in English more than 75 percent of the time; a third, from 40 to 75 percent in English; and a third less than 40 percent in English. LEP secondary school students are considerably less likely to be instructed in their native language (Hopstock et al. 1993a).

The *Prospects* study also noted a tendency for the amount of native-language instruction to decline over the school year. In 3rd grade bilingual programs surveyed, teachers reported using the native language 70 percent of the time in the beginning of the year and only 14 percent by the end (Moss & Puma 1995).

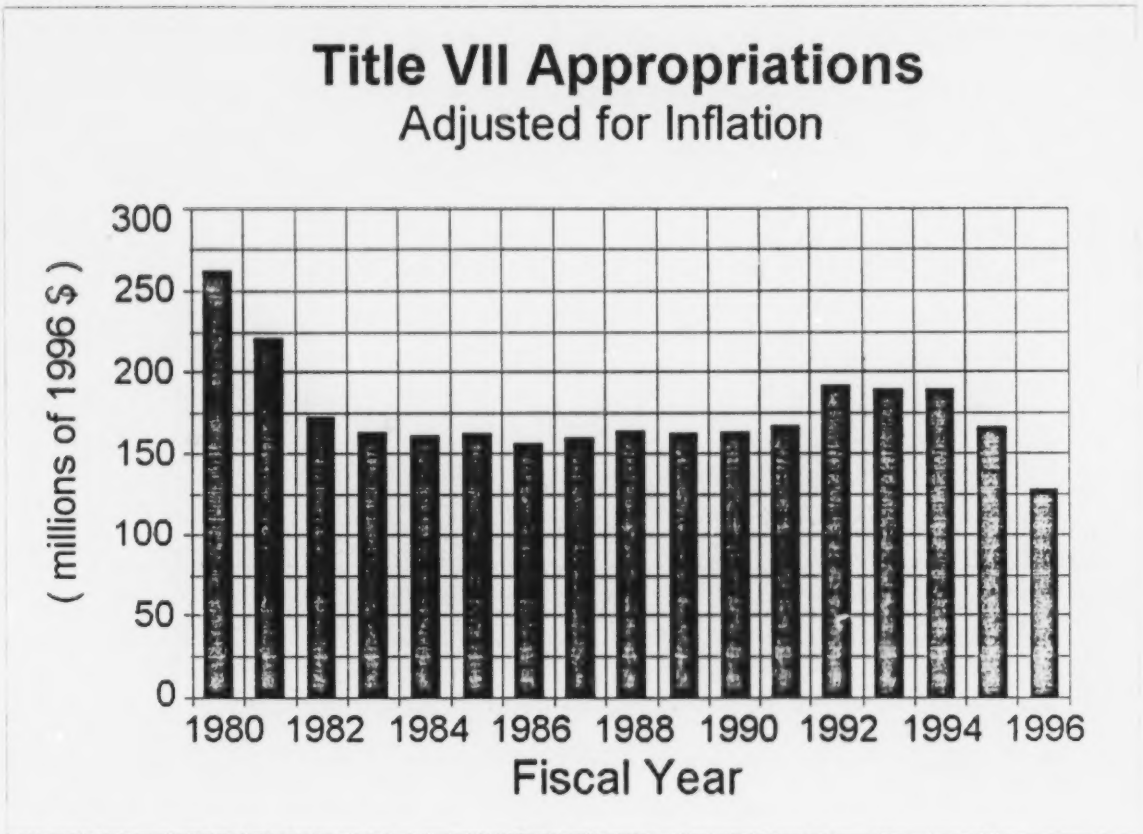
Fallacy: Bilingual education is far more costly than English-language instruction.

By one widely circulated claim, the nation spends $12 billion a year on bilingual education programs at the federal, state, and local levels.[15] This estimate was calculated by multiplying the nation's average per pupil expenditure by the estimated number of LEP students in the United States. It is erroneous and misleading, for three reasons.

First, there are no uniform or reliable figures on most state and local spending for bilingual education. But we do know that the federal government's contribution has declined over the past two decades, while the LEP student population was growing dramatically. The FY1996 budget for Title VII, Part A, is $128 million, a reduction of more than 51 percent from the FY1980 level of $262.4 million (adjusted for inflation; *see Chart I).*

Second, an unfortunate lack of data makes it impossible to estimate reliably the number of LEP students enrolled in bilingual education, "structured immersion," ESL-only, or other approaches in grades K-12 nationwide.[16] But we do know that only a minority participate in the fully bilingual programs recommended by many researchers. In California, the one state that does gather comprehensive enrollment data, fewer than 30 pecent of LEP students were taught academic subjects in their native language, along with ESL, during the 1994-95 school year. And of these students, only about half were in classrooms staffed by certified bilingual and ESL teachers (CDE 1995; *see Table III).* The remaining 70 percent of LEP students received lesser amounts of native-language assistance.

Chart I



Third, the relevant issue here is *marginal* cost: the expense of bilingual approaches versus that of other educational programs for LEP students.[17] Would it be cheaper, for example, to teach these children exclusively in English, as some critics assume? School costs are difficult to disaggregate, and research on this question has been limited. But a study commissioned by the California state legislature used a sophisticated Resource Cost Model to focus some light on the problem. In a select group of well-implemented programs, Chambers and Parrish (1992) found no budgetary advantage for English-only approaches. To the contrary, it cost about the same ($175 to $214) to educate a LEP student in classrooms featuring bilingual or "sheltered English" instruction and $1,198 to provide ESL-only "pullout" programs.[18] The reason for this differential is simple: the pullout approach requires a corps of supplemental teachers, while in-class approaches do not *(see Table IV)*. Nevertheless, ESL pullout remains the method of choice for

many school districts (Hopstock et al. 1993a), especially where LEP students are diverse, owing to shortages of bilingual teachers and a lack of expertise in bilingual methodologies.

Table III. LEP Students Receiving Instructional Services in California Public Schools, 1994-95.

LEP Instructional Services	Number	Percent of Students
English Language Development (ELD) Only	161,940	12.8
ELD and "sheltered English" instruction	183,105	14.5
ELD, sheltered English, and primary language support by paraprofessionals	250,172	19.8
ELD and academic subjects through the primary language	376,633	29.8
Not receiving any special services	291,132	23.1
California totals	1,262,982	100.0

Source: CDE 1995.

Table IV. Supplemental LEP Education Costs Per Pupil, by Model and Activity, in Selected California Schools.

Model Type	Late Exit Bilingual	Early Exit Bilingual	Sheltered English	ESL Pullout	2-Way Bilingual	Overall Average
Direct Instruction	$59	$20	$3	$1,042	$186	$123
LEP Administration and Support	90	129	106	99	472	120
LEP Assessment	22	43	60	46	24	36
Consultation & Inservice Training	9	22	6	11	194	19
Average Supplemental Costs Per Student	$180	$214	$175	$1,198	$876	$298

Source: Chambers & Parrish 1992.

Fallacy: Disproportionate dropout rates for Hispanic students demonstrate the failure of bilingual education.[19]

Hispanic dropout rates remain unacceptably high. Thirty percent of Hispanic youths aged 16-24, had failed to complete high school in October 1994, compared with 13 percent of African-Americans and 8 percent of non-Hispanic whites (Hispanic Dropout Project 1996). Research has identified multiple factors associated with this problem, including recent arrival in the United States, family poverty, limited English proficiency, low academic achievement, and being retained in grade (GAO 1994b; Lockwood 1996). No credible studies, however, have identified bilingual education among these risk factors because the program touches only a small minority of Hispanic children. For example, in California, 49 percent of Hispanic students were LEP in 1995 and (as noted in Table III) less than 30 percent of the state's LEP students were enrolled in fully articulated bilingual programs (CDE 1995).

G. Promoting High Standards and Bilingual Skills

The Congress finds that—
(9) quality bilingual education programs enable children and youth to learn English and meet high academic standards including proficiency in more than one language;

This finding aptly summarizes the results of a major longitudinal study (Ramírez et al. 1991) commissioned by the U.S. Department of Education to compare the effectiveness of "early-exit" bilingual education (TBE), "late-exit" bilingual education (DBE), and English "immersion strategy" (SAIP). Only well-implemented examples of each model were selected for the study.[20] From 1984 to 1988, researchers charted the progress of 2,000 Spanish-speaking students enrolled in these programs in California, Florida, New Jersey, New York, and Texas. While the study's results are too numerous to review in their entirety,[21] they include the following:

- Substantial amounts of native-language instruction do not slow down the acquisition of English-language skills, including literacy.

- Contrary to expectations, only 17 percent of children in early-exit programs and 26 percent of those in immersion programs had been "mainstreamed" after 4 years.

- At the outset, early-exit students outperformed immersion students in English reading and mathematics, but there was little difference between the two groups after the 3rd grade.

- Their rates of academic growth roughly paralleled those of English-proficient children in regular classrooms, but their achievement remained below national norms.

- In the late-exit model, growth curves became steeper the longer students remained in the program; their achievement test scores in English reading, English language, and mathematics approached (but did not quite reach) national norms by the 6th grade.

- This pattern was further confirmed by variations among the late-exit programs themselves. In one such program that lapsed into an early-exit model during the study, scores fell off dramatically.

David Ramírez, the principal researcher, explains the policy implications:

> If your instructional objective is to help kids stay where they are —around the 25th percentile — then give them immersion or early exit [programs] and they'll keep their place in society. If your concern is to help kids catch up to the norming population, use more primary language. In the late-exit programs, they're growing faster in content areas and in English, too. It's really clear that you will not slow down a child's acquisition of English by providing large amounts of native-language instruction [quoted in Crawford 1992].

A review of the Ramírez study by the National Research Council (NRC) questioned the statistical procedures used to compare the late-exit model with the other two approaches and concluded that the research design failed to control for possible pre-existing differences among students and schools. But the NRC endorsed some of the study's major findings, in particular "the importance of primary-language instruction in second-language achievement in language arts and mathematics" (Meyer & Fienberg 1992).

Evidence on these points has continued to accumulate. Analyzing the academic progress of 42,000 language-minority students over periods of eight to twelve years, Thomas and Collier (1996) have confirmed many of Ramírez et al.'s (1991) conclusions. This ongoing research compares five well-implemented program types — two-way bilingual education, DBE with

sheltered English (content-based ESL), TBE with sheltered English, TBE with traditional (grammar-based) ESL, and traditional ESL pullout alone *(see Glossary)*. The researchers have identified a consistent pattern: students' long-term growth accelerates in proportion to the amount of native language used. The most promising results are being achieved in the two-way bilingual model; the least promising, in the ESL pullout approach *(see Chart II)*.

Chart II

GENERAL PATTERN OF K-12 LANGUAGE MINORITY STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT ON STANDARDIZED TESTS IN ENGLISH COMPARED ACROSS FIVE PROGRAM MODELS

(Data aggregated from a series of 3-6 year longitudinal studies from well-implemented, mature programs in five school districts and from the Ramírez 1991 dataset)

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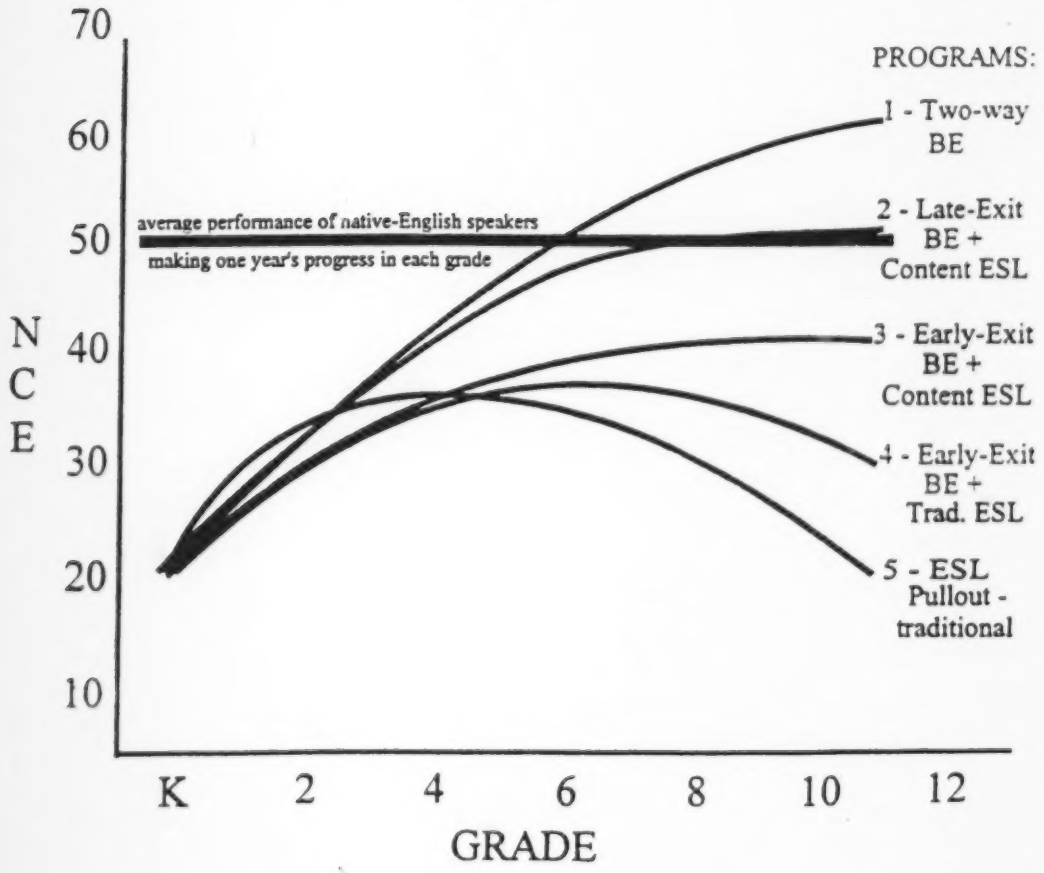
Program 1: Two-way developmental bilingual education (BE)
Program 2: Late-exit bilingual education + ESL taught through academic content
Program 3: Early-exit bilingual education + ESL taught through academic content
Program 4: Early-exit bilingual education + ESL taught traditionally
Program 5: ESL pullout - taught traditionally



Fallacy: Research remains inconclusive on the benefits of bilingual education.

Some critics argue that the great majority of bilingual program evaluations are so egregiously flawed that their findings are useless. After reviewing 300 such studies, Rossell and Baker (1996) judged only 72 to be "methodologically acceptable." Of these, they determined that a mere 22 percent supported the superiority of TBE over "regular instruction" (sink-or-swim) in English reading, 9 percent in math, and 7 percent in language. Moreover, they concluded that "TBE is never better than structured immersion" in English. In other words, they could find little evidence that bilingual education "works."

Yet a close analysis of Rossell and Baker's claims reveals some serious flaws of their own. Krashen (1996) questions the rigor of several studies the reviewers included as "methodologically acceptable" — all unfavorable to bilingual education and many unpublished in the professional literature. Moreover, Rossell and Baker relied heavily on program evaluations from the 1970s, when bilingual pedagogies were considerably less developed than they are today. Compounding these weaknesses is their narrative review technique, which simply "counts the votes" for or against a program alternative — a method that leaves considerable room for subjectivity and reviewer bias (Dunkel 1990). Meta-analysis, a more objective method that weighs numerous variables in each study under review, has yielded more positive findings about bilingual education (Willig 1985).[22]

Most important, Krashen (1996) shows that Rossell and Baker are content to compare programs *by label*, with little consideration of the actual pedagogies being applied. They treat as equivalent all approaches called TBE, even though few program details are available in many of the studies under review. Researchers who take the time to visit real classrooms[23] understand how dangerous such assumptions can be. According to Hopstock et al. (1993a), "When actual practices ... are examined, a `bilingual education' program might provide more instruction in English than ... an `English as a second language' program." Moreover, from a qualitative perspective, LEP programs vary considerably in how (one or both) languages are integrated into the curriculum and into the social context of the school. Finally, simplistic labels are misleading because "bilingual" and "immersion" techniques are not mutually exclusive; several studies have shown that successful programs make extensive use of both (see, e.g., Thomas & Collier 1996, Ramírez 1991).

Even when program descriptions are available, Rossell and Baker sometimes ignore them. For example, they cite a "bilingual immersion" program in El Paso as a superior English-only ("submersion") approach, although it included 90 minutes of Spanish instruction each day in addition to sheltered English. The researchers also include in their review several studies of French immersion in Canada, which they equate with all-English, structured immersion programs in the United States. Yet, as the Canadian program designers have repeatedly stressed, these models are bilingual in both methods and goals, and they serve language-*majority* students with needs that are quite distinct from those of LEP students in this country (Cummins 1989). Nevertheless, lacking any credible research demonstrating the superiority of structured immersion in the U.S.A.,[24] Rossell and Baker rely heavily on the Canadian "evidence" in justifying their preference for this approach.

Their study is worth noting, not because it enjoys credibility among other researchers in language-minority education, but because this type of review has played a disproportionate role in discussions of Title VII policy. While the field as a whole has moved beyond a narrow emphasis on language of instruction, such critics continue to treat it as the only significant program variable. Evaluation studies are categorized as "pro-bilingual" or "anti-bilingual" — as votes for or against program labels — rather than analyzed for lessons about effective schooling. The result has been to politicize and polarize the question of how best to serve LEP students.[25]

H. National Need for Language Resources

The Congress finds that—
(10) as the world becomes increasingly interdependent and as international communication becomes a daily occurrence in government, business, commerce, and family life, multilingual skills constitute an important national resource which deserves protection and development;

Competence in multiple languages is an obvious necessity in diplomacy, national security, and the global marketplace. Yet with its persistent rates of monolingualism, the United States could be described as an underdeveloped country when it comes to language resources. Hence the concern, articulated by a Presidential commission in 1979, that "Americans' gross inadequacy in foreign-language skills is nothing short of scandalous, and it is getting worse" (Simon 1980). Following this warning, U.S. colleges strengthened their language requirements and thereby boosted enrollments in the study of non-English languages, from 23 percent of secondary school

students in 1982 to 38 percent in 1990 (Draper 1991). Nevertheless, traditional foreign-language instruction is failing to produce enough graduates with the communicative skills needed by U.S. businesses and government.[26] How extensive is the unmet demand? For the most part, research on this question has been limited to case studies covering small samples of employers. Still, a few conclusions can be stated with confidence:

- "U.S. corporations are beginning to value second language proficiency more highly," especially for its role in sensitizing employees to other cultures (Adelman 1994).

- In their international operations, large businesses tend to meet their language needs by hiring foreign nationals and providing American overseas managers with brief courses in conversational skills, primarily for "goodwill" and "social adaptation" (García & Otheguy 1994).

- Smaller U.S. concerns — the major source of domestic job growth in recent years — must rely more heavily on multilingual employees to increase opportunities for trade and foreign investment (Fixman 1989).

- While English continues to expand as the dominant language of international business, it is hardly the only language. Competitors of U.S. firms in Europe, Japan, and Latin America increasingly demand that business be conducted in their national languages for reasons of cultural identity and economic advantage (García & Otheguy 1994).

- The federal government has a broad range of positions requiring language competence, especially in the State, Defense, Agriculture, and Commerce departments and in various security and information agencies. Unable to rely on the U.S. educational system, federal agencies provide their own language training, at considerable cost, but proficient personnel remain scarce in numerous critical languages (Clifford & Fischer 1990).

Ironically, the unmet demand for foreign language competence comes at a time when these very skills are being imported, gratis, by increasing numbers of immigrants to the United States. Yet American business and government have largely failed to tap the language resources of minority communities (Brecht & Walton 1994).

I. Educational Technology and LEP students

The Congress finds that—
(11) educational technology has the potential for improving the education of language-minority and limited English proficient students and their families, and the Federal Government should foster this development;

New learning technologies are transforming many American schools, facilitated by the increased availability of computers in the classroom. Yet there are considerable disparities in access. A 1988 study by the Office of Technology Assessment found that minority students were less likely to have the use of computers, while "LEP students have the lowest access of all" (Dunkel 1990). So resource inequities cloud the bright predictions for these new tools.

Studies over the past two decades have documented real, albeit modest, benefits of educational technologies among all students, although studies on their effectiveness among LEP students have been limited. Researchers have nevertheless cited numerous ways in which computer-based innovations — such as multimedia, word processing, desktop publishing, email, and the World Wide Web — promise to enhance achievement for language-minority children (Soska 1994). This potential is not intrinsic to the technologies themselves, but to the school-improvement strategies in which they are deployed. These include:

- *Multicultural literacy.* Relatively inexpensive tools like email can link classrooms on several continents. Cummins and Sayers (1995) describe several such partnerships that enable students to interact with peers from other cultures. Some of these involve parents in intergenerational literacy efforts. The researchers report that "global learning networks" have helped children both to confront their prejudices about other groups and to better appreciate their own cultures.

- *Interactive and cooperative learning.* Creative uses of technology can address a weakness of many LEP programs: teacher-centered approaches stressing rote memorization, closed-ended activities, and a passive learning environment. Such methods are especially inappropriate for LEP students, who need interactive environments to foster second-language acquisition and higher-order thinking skills (Ramírez et al. 1991; Dolson & Mayer 1992). Computer-assisted instruction can make matters worse — for example, when used solely to drill students in "skill-building" exercises. But it can also support alternative approaches. New technologies such as hypermedia enable children "to link information together in multiple ways," creating

open-ended learning opportunities that encourage critical thinking, student-directed activities, and collaboration with peers. Hypermedia can also provide meaningful contexts and whole-language environments for English acquisition (Bermúdez & Palumbo 1994).

- *Improved assessment.* New technologies can help schools overcome difficulties in language and academic assessments of LEP students. Telecommunications tools such as modems, satellites, and computer networks now make expert help available on-line and encourage long-distance collaboration among educators. Computer software can also improve alternative assessments. Using multimedia, LEP students can assemble oral, visual, and written portfolios demonstrating their conversational skills, problem-solving abilities, and other work products that display their linguistic and academic competencies (Zehler 1995).

Expense can pose a significant obstacle to realizing the potential of such technologies (Dunkel 1990). This problem is most acute in urban schools, where LEP and language-minority youth are concentrated. Moreover, the novelty of these tools should not divert attention and funding from "low tech" approaches of proven effectiveness — in particular, encouraging children to read books on their own. Krashen (1993) cites numerous studies that found a strong correlation between free voluntary reading and literacy development, an effect that is especially strong for second-language learners. Yet LEP children often have limited access to print. In the Ramírez study (1991), language-minority students came from low-income homes with an average of just 22 books for all family members. Meanwhile, school libraries — for many students, the main source of free reading material — are chronically underfunded. One Southern California study found that most school libraries serving large Hispanic enrollments had only 2.2 to 5.5 books per child and an average of 0.1 to 1 in Spanish (Pucci 1994, cited in Krashen 1996). Improving that ratio would not only encourage students to read more; it could also prove a cost-effective alternative to computer-assisted reading instruction.

J. Parent Involvement

The Congress finds that—
(12) parent and community participation in bilingual education programs contributes to program effectiveness;

When parents participate in their children's education — for example, by helping with homework, attending school events, conferring with teachers, serving as volunteers, or participating in school governance — low-income, language-minority students are considerably more likely to succeed. Parent involvement is associated with numerous benefits: sustained gains in academic achievement, enhanced English-language skills, increased cognitive growth, improved behavior in school, better home-school relationships, more favorable attitudes toward school, and higher self-concept, among others (Bermúdez & Márquez 1996; Tse 1996).

Nevertheless, there are numerous barriers to language-minority parent participation. These include not only limited English skills and unfamiliarity with the culture of American schools *(see section II.C)*, but also family mobility, work schedules, lack of self-confidence, negative personal experiences with education, and insensitivity of school personnel (Delgado-Gaitan 1991; Bermúdez & Márquez 1996). So special efforts are needed to involve such parents; these are a component of most successful programs for LEP children, as testified by a host of recent of case studies (e.g., Kang et al. 1996; Navarette 1996).[27]

One promising approach, supported by Title VII grants since 1984, is the Family English Literacy Program. An alternative to traditional ESL classes, such projects target the needs of LEP parents with children in Title VII classrooms. Family literacy efforts encourage parent participation in various ways, such as stressing parent-child reading activities, teaching second languages through practical activities, and offering opportunities to develop literacy skills in the native language. In a study of 54 Family English Literacy projects, a majority of parents reported that their English had improved in various practical domains. They also cited increased abilities to help with children's homework, better communication within the family, more involvement with the school, and — as a result — enhanced student achievement (Atlantic Research Corp. 1991).

A salient feature of exemplary parent-involvement programs has been respect for cultural diversity and active efforts to strengthen the native language in the home (McCollum & Russo 1993). This represents a departure from deficit-model approaches that stress English above all else and encourage language-minority parents to use the second language at home with their children. Recent research has shown that, when parents' English is limited, they serve as poor models for children acquiring the language. More important, LEP students already feel social pressures to

relinquish their home language — sometimes intensified by English-only preschools — which can retard their cognitive and linguistic development. Home language loss can also have "serious [negative] consequences for parent-child relationships" (Wong Fillmore 1991).

Fallacy: Language-minority parents do not support bilingual education because they feel it is more important for their children to learn English than to maintain the native language.

Naturally, when pollsters place these goals in opposition (e.g., LaVelle 1996), immigrant parents will opt for English by wide margins. Who knows better the imperative of second-language acquisition than those who struggle with language barriers on a daily basis?[28] But the premise of such surveys is false. Truly bilingual programs seek to cultivate proficiency in both tongues, and research has shown that students' native language can be maintained and developed at no cost to English. When polled on the principles underlying bilingual education — e.g., "developing literacy in the first language facilitates literacy development in English" or "bilingualism offers cognitive and career-related advantages" — a majority of parents are strongly in favor of such approaches (see Krashen 1996 for a review of several studies).

K. Improving Research, Evaluation, and Data Collection

The Congress finds that—
(13) research, evaluation, and data-collection capabilities in the field of bilingual education need to be strengthened so that educators and other staff can better identify and promote those programs, program implementation strategies, and instructional practices that result in effective education of limited English proficient children;

Research

Federally funded research on the education of LEP students has historically stressed massive, time-consuming, and costly attempts to answer a narrow policy question: Which program alternative "works" best — bilingual or English-only instruction — and thus deserves the lion's share of Title VII funding (August & Hakuta 1997). Yet, as described above, program-evaluation research is prone to inherent difficulties in design and execution — not least the diversity of language-minority communities, students, and the schools that serve them. Large-scale comparisons are problematic when the same program model often yields different results in

different social contexts (Meyer & Fienberg 1992). More important, the theoretical framework of such research is too constricted to explore a range of questions about learning. It tends to neglect the complex interactions between linguistic and cognitive growth and between language usage and social inequality, which help to shape LEP children's educational experience. Finally, by focusing heavily on language of instruction, it tends to reduce other program components to insignificance, including effective practices developed through classroom experience.

After investigating the history of bilingual education research over the past 25 years, the National Research Council concluded that:

> There is little value in conducting evaluations to determine which type of program is best. The key issue is not finding a program that works for all children and all localities, but rather finding a set of program components that works for the children in the community of interest, given that community's goals, demographics, and resources [August & Hakuta 1997].

The NRC seconded the recommendation of the Stanford Working Group, a panel of researchers and policy analysts in language-minority education, which called for studies that are coordinated more closely with the needs of practitioners, such as "the development of theoretically sound, appropriate assessments to measure the mastery of LEP students in meeting ... national content standards" (Hakuta et al. 1993).

Evaluation

Title VII's evaluation component has long been identified as a weak link in the program. A majority of project evaluations conducted before the mid-1980s were of such poor quality that they offered little guidance to educators or policy-makers (Talmadge et al. 1987). Congress responded in 1984 by authorizing two Evaluation Assistance Centers to assist local school districts, and in 1986 the Department of Education issued detailed requirements for evaluating Title VII projects. Nevertheless, significant problems persist. A recent study concluded that most evaluations focus primarily on *outcomes* — information such as test scores that can be valuable for accountability purposes. Meanwhile, they neglect *process* — information about staffing,

curriculum, facilities, and other factors that can be valuable for program improvement. In other words, Title VII evaluations tend to favor the needs of the grantor over those of the grantee. Yet limited use is made of the end-product, either in reviewing grant applications or in analyzing policy issues of interest to the field. Moreover, the amount of resources available — an average of $3,000 to $4,000 and four to five days of a professional evaluator's time — are insufficient to yield meaningful findings, especially in process evaluation (Hopstock et al. 1993b).

Data Collection

Data collection on language-minority education, another problematic area, is handicapped by such factors as difficulties in appropriate assessment, inadequate record-keeping, and uneven reporting by SEAs. Most LEP children have been excluded from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) for lack of accommodations, such as native-language instruments, to make the tests meaningful.[29] NAEP has recently begun to address these problems (Olson & Goldstein 1996).

The annual SEA Survey, required for Title VII state grantees, currently yields a limited range of information about LEP students — numbers identified in public and private schools; enrollments in federal, state or local programs; achievement test scores; grade retention rates; and identification techniques. Unfortunately, a lack of uniform definitions and reporting procedures renders much of these data questionable (Donly et al. 1995). Certain states take a more rigorous approach — notably California, which requires LEAs to conduct a thorough language census each year (CDE 1995). Following this example, an SEA Survey with enhanced reporting requirements could gather better-quality national data in additional areas of interest to policy-makers — for example, teacher supply and demand, enrollment in various instructional models, and costs of program alternatives.

L. Goals of the Title VII Program

The Congress finds that—

(14) the use of a child or youth's native language and culture in classroom instruction can —

(A) promote self-esteem and contribute to academic achievement and learning English by limited English proficient children and youth;

(B) benefit English-proficient children and youth who also participate in such programs; and

(C) develop our Nation's national language resources, thus promoting our Nation's competitiveness in the global economy;

Promoting Self-Esteem and Academic Achievement

School programs that strive for *additive bilingualism* — supporting LEP children's native language while they learn English — have proven superior to *subtractive* approaches not only in cognitive-academic benefits (Ramírez et al. 1991; Lambert 1984) but in sociocultural advantages as well. Such pedagogies do not treat children as "culturally deprived," or "linguistically deficient." Instead, they recognize and build upon the skills, knowledge, and resources that students bring from their homes and communities. Thus additive approaches, if well designed and executed, can have a strong impact on student attitudes toward school and toward themselves. Rather than feeling devalued by their "minority" status, children are encouraged to take pride in their backgrounds, expect to succeed academically, and set high career goals. These are among the potential effects of bilingual programs — summed up as improved *self-esteem* — and they are correlated with improved achievement, according to a variety of case studies (see, e.g., García 1992).

Recently some critics have ridiculed concerns about self-esteem as a symptom of indulgent, "feel good" schooling that makes excuses for limited achievers rather than spurring them on to success. Such complaints miss the point. Low self-esteem is a social phenomenon, affecting a sizable percentage of minority children, not just a handful of laggards. It is a syndrome of disempowerment and alienation, exacerbated — if not entirely created — by school experiences such as insensitivity toward minority cultures, low expectations by teachers, and deficit models of education; in short, by institutional racism (Cummins 1989). On the other hand, schools can help to counteract low self-esteem — for example, by incorporating minority languages into the curriculum, encouraging parent and community participation, promoting student-directed learning,

and offering assessments that consider cultural factors, such as students' "disabling" interactions with the school (Cummins 1989). Developmental bilingual approaches are consistent with this orientation; nevertheless, such interventions must be conscious in order to succeed.

Fostering Bilingualism and Multicultural Understanding

Bilingual education is far more than a remedy for limited English proficiency or a stopgap to keep LEP students from falling behind in other subjects while acquiring a second language. It has great potential, only beginning to be realized, to develop critical language skills that are now in short supply *(see section II.H)*. One promising approach — described variously as *two-way bilingual education, dual-language instruction,* and *bilingual immersion* — enrolls both native-English-speaking and LEP students, to the mutual benefit of both groups. Children serve as peer tutors, learning each others' languages more effectively than in traditional foreign-language or ESL instruction. Two-way approaches draw on research in immersion education, which shows that second languages are best acquired naturally, through their use in meaningful communication — for example, through sheltered content instruction in academic subjects, which makes input comprehensible. They also rely on developmental bilingual strategies for cultivating — rather than replacing — the native-language skills of minority students (Christian & Mahrer 1992).

These programs can foster fluent bilingualism, at no cost to progress in other subjects, as documented by longitudinal studies in which both LEP and non-LEP students achieved at or above national norms. Indeed, the higher the bilingual proficiency, the higher the academic achievement (Lindholm & Aclan 1991). Minority children appear to benefit in particular from social interactions in the two-way bilingual classroom — not only by mixing with native-English speakers, but also by sharing a valuable resource: their native tongue. Defined by what they know rather than by what they lack, these students tend to develop more positive feelings toward school and toward their own capabilities than their counterparts in traditional LEP programs. Meanwhile, this model stimulates in both groups a greater interest in other cultures and provides a practical key — language — for unlocking them (Merrill 1993).

Two-way bilingual education is growing rapidly in popularity. From only 30 documented programs in 1987, by 1994-95 it had expanded to 182 schools in 10 states. Spanish is by far the

predominant minority language used for instruction, followed by Korean, French, Navajo, Chinese, Arabic, Japanese, Russian, and Portuguese (Christian & Whitcher 1995).

M. Title VII and Equal Opportunity

The Congress finds that—
(15) the Federal Government, as exemplified by title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and section 204(f) of the Equal Education Opportunities Act of 1974, has a special and continuing obligation to ensure that States and local school districts take appropriate action to provide equal educational opportunities to children and youth of limited English proficiency;

A substantial minority of LEP children — estimates range from 22 to 30 percent (Moss & Puma 1995; CDE 1995; Donly et al. 1995; CCSSO 1990) — receive no language assistance whatsoever. That is, as many as 1.1 million children, depending on which estimate of the LEP population one uses, may be receiving neither bilingual nor immersion nor ESL instruction.[30] The Supreme Court has ruled, in *Lau v. Nichols* (1974), that denial of special help to *any* LEP child is a violation of that child's civil rights. Schools must take "affirmative steps" to help students overcome language barriers impeding their access to the curriculum. This principle, codified in the Equal Educational Opportunity Act (EEOA) of 1974, has led courts to order numerous school districts to improve their services for LEP children (Jiménez 1992).

Nevertheless, there remains considerable unevenness among states, districts, and schools in their commitment to meet this obligation. Some SEAs enforce state mandates to provide bilingual or ESL instruction to LEP students under varying conditions. Still, the major responsibility in civil rights enforcement rests with the U.S. Government. During the 1970s the federal Office for Civil Rights (OCR) aggressively monitored districts for compliance with the *Lau* decision and required nearly 500 to adopt "Lau Plans" — remedies for their past neglect of LEP students. During the 1980s OCR sharply reduced its *Lau* enforcement.[31] During the 1990s, as school reform presents new opportunities — and new dangers — for language-minority students (Crawford 1996b), vigorous efforts are still needed to safeguard their civil rights.

Fallacy: Bilingual education is a federal mandate imposed on states and localities.[32]

Under the *Lau* decision and the EEOA, a school district is free to adopt any approach in teaching LEP children, provided that it takes "appropriate action" to ensure their access to the curriculum. That is, the program must be (1) based on "a sound educational theory"; (2) "implemented effectively," with adequate staff and resources; and (3) evaluated, after a trial period, as effective in overcoming language barriers (*Castañeda v. Pickard* 1981).[33]

To compete for federal grants under Title VII, local programs were once required to use some form of native-language instruction. But since 1984, a portion of such funding — currently 25 percent — may go to support alternative, all-English approaches (P.L. 103-382, Sec. 7116).

N. Capacity-Building for Language-Minority Education

The Congress finds that—
(16) the Federal Government also, as exemplified by the Federal Government's efforts under this title, has a special and continuing obligation to assist States and local school districts in developing the capacity to provide programs of instruction that offer limited English proficient children and youth an equal educational opportunity.

Since 1968, the Bilingual Education Act has enabled thousands of schools to create, improve, and sustain instructional programs for LEP students. It has authorized grants to LEAs, not as permanent subsidies, but as "seed money" to encourage innovative approaches that would become self-supporting. This *capacity-building* function has been one of Title VII's greatest successes. According to a recent national study, "A great majority of districts surveyed had been able to institutionalize many features of programs initiated with Title VII funding." These included the continuation of bilingual services after federal grants ran out, such as assessment procedures, instructional aides, and materials purchases; sustained support from parents, communities, administrators, and school boards; and permanent inservice training programs (Kim & Lucas 1992).

Title VII has also helped to disseminate exemplary models and practices through the Academic Excellence Grant Program. These include, for example, effective approaches to using educational technology, involving language-minority parents and communities, and integrating

Native American cultures into the curriculum. Since 1987, such program models have been adopted in an estimated 150 schools, 70 percent of which have reported positive impacts on student achievement (Wilson et al. 1994).

The Improving America's Schools Act of 1994 maintains federal support for local capacity-building, but with a new emphasis. Congress recognized that, while Title VII is needed to foster innovative approaches in bilingual education, it cannot do the job alone. SEAs and LEAs must do more to coordinate services for LEP students throughout the full range of federal and state programs, including immigrant education, Indian education, special education, vocational education, migrant education, and — most important in financial terms — Title I. By and large, such programs have poorly addressed the needs of LEP students in the past. Although one-third of these children are "served" by Title I, this has often meant the same remedial instruction that was provided to underachieving, English-speaking children, according to a survey of SEA officials (CCSSO 1990). As for the language barrier, state and local administrators have tended to assume it was a "special problem" that the bilingual program was "taking care of." So they have rarely included LEP children in broader reform initiatives or coordinated efforts between Title I and Title VII (Strang & Carlson 1991).

Language-minority students' lack of inclusion in educational planning has frequently resulted in a denial of equal opportunity. In a study of 27 secondary schools in California, for example, Minicucci and Olsen (1992) found that less than 25 percent offered "full [academic] programs for students learning English," while 13 provided "few or no content area classes" for LEP students.

Under Title VII, as reauthorized in 1994, capacity-building means enabling school districts to serve LEP students — no longer in isolation, but in the context of efforts to ensure educational equity. Consistent with Goals 2000, the new law requires SEAs and LEAs to strive for the inclusion of language-minority concerns at all levels of school reform. While such efforts "hold promise for improving instruction and learning for all students," attention must be paid to the special situation of LEP students in such areas as standards, assessment, accountability, and educational research. Otherwise, "well-intentioned reforms could jeopardize a generation of progress" for these children (August et al. 1994).

III. Conclusion

Federal policies on bilingual education, as articulated by the Congressional findings on Title VII, are well supported by scientific research. Such evidence becomes stronger each year. Certainly, much remains to be learned — for example, about how children acquire second languages, how social and cognitive variables affect the process, and how bilingualism interacts with literacy development and academic achievement. More basic research in these areas is necessary to improve the schooling of LEP children. At the same time, studies over the past three decades have laid a solid foundation for bilingual pedagogies. We know that native-language instruction supports — rather than retards — English acquisition, and that quality bilingual programs can help students meet high standards and cultivate valuable language skills.

Nevertheless, Title VII continues to excite controversy. Bilingual education evokes a nexus of issues — civil rights, immigration policy, ethnic diversity, cultural pluralism, and national identity — that are among the most sensitive of our times. Though far removed from classroom realities, these political conflicts have too often shaped the discussion of language-minority education. Myths and misinformation tend to dominate this debate. Partisan condemnations are issued. Ideologues, not experts, command center stage.

Porter (1996) describes bilingual education as "a panacea that failed." To the contrary, it is the quest for panaceas that has failed to produce consensus. Not all children learn in the same way; their needs are strikingly diverse. Limited English proficiency is but one among numerous factors — including poverty, family illiteracy, cultural barriers, and institutional racism — that account for underachievement. Thus doctrinaire cure-alls are ineffectual. Worse, they become a prescription for educational neglect, as LEP students long experienced in English-only schools.

Since 1968, researchers have identified a variety of bilingual program models that have proven successful when adapted to diverse communities. They have also documented a range of effective practices in the bilingual classroom. Pedagogical experimentation is healthy, as Title VII has always recognized. Federal policy must be flexible enough to respect local preferences and to support innovation, while promoting the approaches that seem most promising — according to the best evidence available. Judged by this standard, the Congressional findings on the Bilingual Education Act signify an important advance.

Glossary

Language-minority students — children in grades K-12 from homes where a language other than English is spoken.

Limited-English-proficient (LEP) students — also known as **English language learners**; language-minority children who have difficulties in speaking, comprehending, reading, or writing English that affect their school performance *(see Note 6)*.

Teaching Methods

Native-language instruction — use of a child's home language (generally by a classroom teacher) to provide lessons in academic subjects or to teach reading and other language arts.

Native-language support — use of a child's home language (generally by a teacher's aide) to translate unfamiliar terms or otherwise clarify lessons taught in English.

English as a second language (ESL) — also known as **English language development (ELD)**; various approaches to teaching English, adapted to the needs of minority-language speakers, including:

> **Grammar-based ESL** — instruction in English that teaches *about* the language: its structure and vocabulary, typically stressing drills, translation, and conversational exercises.
>
> **Communication-based ESL** — teaching English by using the language in meaningful contexts; for example, the Natural Approach, which stresses simplified conversation and visual or physical cues to make English input comprehensible.
>
> **Sheltered English** — also known as **content-based ESL** or **immersion**; English-language instruction in content areas, adjusted to learners' level of second-language proficiency, enabling them to acquire academic English naturally as they learn academic content.

Program Models

Bilingual education — various models that use both English and native-language instruction to teach school subjects and that feature some form of ESL, including:

Transitional bilingual education (TBE) — also known as **early-exit bilingual education**; a model whose primary goal is to "mainstream" students to all-English classrooms; uses native-language instruction to help students keep up in other subjects, but phases in English instruction as quickly as possible *(see Note 21)*.

Developmental bilingual education (DBE) — also known as **maintenance bilingual education**; a model whose goals include fluent bilingualism as well as academic excellence; typically phases in English more gradually than TBE and continues to develop students' skills in the native language (through language arts or content-area instruction) after they have become fully English-proficient *(see Note 21)*.

Two-way bilingual education — also known as **dual-language instruction** or **bilingual immersion**; a model that combines DBE for language-minority students and foreign-language immersion for English-proficient students, with the added benefit of peer tutoring; seeks to enable each group to learn the other's vernacular while also meeting high academic standards *(see Section II.J.)*.

Immersion education — various models that use communication- and content-based approaches to teaching second languages, with little or no use of students' first language, including:

Special alternative instructional program (SAIP) — also known as **structured immersion** or **immersion strategy**; a model in which language-minority, LEP children are taught primarily through sheltered English techniques, with the native language used — if at all — only for purposes of clarification *(see Note 21)*; a subtractive approach that does not promote the development of bilingual skills.

Foreign-language immersion — a model in which language-majority students are instructed primarily or exclusively through sheltered instruction in a second language, later combined with native-language classes; an additive approach whose goal is functional bilingualism at no cost to academic achievement (e.g., French immersion in Canada; *see Section II.G.*).

Native-language immersion — a model in which Native American (or other indigenous) students are taught through sheltered instruction in an endangered language; promotes the goals of revitalizing a community's vernacular and strengthening students' cultural identity, while fostering academic achievement *(see Section II.D)*.

Submersion — also known as **sink or swim**; teaching LEP students in mainstream, English-language classrooms that offer no special language assistance; violates civil rights guarantees under the Supreme Court's *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) decision.

ESL pullout — supplemental instruction for LEP children removed from submersion classrooms, typically for 30 to 45 minutes each day; usually provided by teachers who do not speak the native language of their students.

Notes

1. The disparity is significant since, as other studies have determined, a majority of decision-makers rely on newspaper accounts for information on social science research (Weiss & Singer 1987, cited in McQuillan & Tse, in press).

2. The census questions on language were part of the "long form" sent to a 12 percent sample of the U.S. population in 1980 and 1990. Respondents were asked: "Does this person speak a language other than English at home?" If so, "What language?" and "How well does this person speak English? — Very well? Well? Not well? or Not at all?"

   Unfortunately, these questions are open to various interpretations not intended by the Census Bureau, such as: "Can this person speak, *at any level of proficiency,* a language other than English?" or "Does this person *ever* speak another language at home?" Misunderstandings like these may tend to overstate the population of language minorities (e.g., a substantial minority of those who report speaking Spanish at home are of non-Hispanic background; perhaps they have studied the language in school).

   On the other hand, immigrants who marry monolingual English speakers often have no opportunity to speak their first language at home; if so, their native languages go uncounted. In addition, the home language questions require a degree of English literacy to answer, since the written form is mailed and no interviewer is present to explain the purpose of the questions. This may yield an undercount of limited-English speakers — e.g., among American Indians on reservations, where census forms tend to pile up, unanswered, at remote trading posts.

   Finally, self-reports of proficiency in both English and minority languages have been shown to be unreliable when compared with objective measures. For example, they may be "contaminated" by various feelings about ethnicity, such as pride in the native tongue or identification with the dominant culture (Hakuta & D'Andrea 1992).

   Since identical language questions were asked in 1980 and 1990, the responses can still be useful in plotting general trends. Unfortunately, no data about current usage of non-English languages were gathered in censuses from 1930 to 1970 (to the extent they were asked, questions focused on home languages spoken in childhood). Even English proficiency questions were sporadic during this period.

3. In the 1982 English Language Proficiency Survey, conducted by the Census Bureau for the U.S. Department of Education, there was a strong correlation between persons whose English proficiency was limited and those who rated their English-speaking abilities in the three lowest categories: "well," "not well," or "not at all" (Kominski 1989, cited in MacArthur 1993).

4. One obvious pattern is that SEAs with substantial Native American enrollments (e.g., Montana) identify significantly more LEP children than the census. On the other hand, SEAs with small, primarily immigrant populations of language minorities (e.g., South Carolina) identify significantly fewer LEP children than the census *(see Table III)*.

   It is also important to bear in mind that the census asks only about English-*speaking* ability — not about reading, writing, or listening. Thus the LEP student population is likely to be larger than the number of language-minority youth who report difficulty with English. Taking into account the percentages of this population that scored at the 20th and 40th percentile in reading, Waggoner (1993a) estimates a national LEP enrollment of 5 million to 7.5 million.

5. The Department of Education has never developed detailed standards on how schools should assess children's language proficiency. The statutory definition is as follows:

> The terms `limited English proficiency' and `limited English proficient', when used with reference to an individual, mean an individual—
>
> (A) who—
>
> (I) was not born in the United States or whose native language is a language other than English and comes from an environment where a language other than English is dominant; or
>
> (ii) is a Native American or Alaska Native or who is a native resident of the outlying areas and comes from an environment where a language other than English has had a significant impact on such individual's level of English language proficiency; or
>
> (iii) is migratory and whose native language is other than English and comes from an environment where a language other than English is dominant; and
>
> (B) who has sufficient difficulty speaking, reading, writing, or understanding the English language and whose difficulties may deny such individual the opportunity to learn successfully in classrooms where the language of instruction is English or to participate fully in our society [P.L. 103-382, Sec. 7501].

6. See, e.g., Chávez (1991): "The purpose [of bilingual education] is not to assimilate Hispanic children, however, but to maintain and strengthen their ethnic identity by teaching them in their native language and by inculcating in them their native culture. In the process, these children have become the most segregated students in American public schools, kept apart from their English-speaking peers even after they have acquired basic English skills, sometimes for years."

7. E.g., these include Hawaiian Creole English, or "Pidgin," as well as varieties of American Indian English.

8. For FY1996 and FY1997, however, Congress declined to appropriate any funds for professional development.

9. One explanation for the low rate of graduation among doctoral candidates is that Title VII fellowships are awarded for a maximum of three years, while the average doctoral degree in education takes 8.3 years to complete (MayaTech 1991).

10. See, e.g., Rep. Christopher Cox (R-Calif.): "Under these doctrinaire and disruptive bilingual policies, in too many U.S. schools children who wish to learn English are given only a few minutes of English instruction each day. Ignoring the time-tested wisdom that practice makes perfect, children are taught all day long in the foreign language they already speak, rather than in English" (*Congressional Record,* Aug. 1, 1996, p. H9751).

11. See, e.g., Rep. Bill Emerson (R-Mo.): "The goal of bilingual education was and is to help children become fluent in English as quickly as possible. For example, while I recognize that there is a transition period whereby children need time to learn English, I do not agree with some educators and policymakers about the length of the transition period — which some believe should last as long as 8 years. Bilingual education was enacted because Congress wants limited English proficient students to quickly learn English and move on" (*Congressional Record,* March 21, 1994, p. H1711).

12. See, e.g., House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.): "[A]sk yourself, in an America where their are over 80 languages taught in the California schools as the primary language, not as the secondary language but as the primary language, in a country where in Seattle there are 75 languages being taught, in Chicago there are 100; this is not bilingualism, this is a level of confusion which if it were allowed to develop for another 20 or 30 years would literally lead, I think, to the decay of the core parts of our civilization" (*Congressional Record,* Aug. 1, 1996, p. H9768).

13. See, e.g., Rep. Joe Knollenberg (R-Mich.): "By teaching young people in their native languages, we are handicapping their performance in a highly competitive arena. Bilingual education may make the school day easier for children speaking English as a second language. However, it creates another class of student unable to read, speak, and write English in an English-speaking society" (*Congressional Record,* March 21, 1994, p. H1716).

14. The remaining 12.6 percent supported various other Part A programs, including Family English Literacy, Academic Excellence, and Special Populations grants. Figures are drawn from information provided by OBEMLA to the House Appropriations Committee for FY1985 through FY1992.

15. See, e.g., Rep. Toby Roth (R-Wisc.): "Mr. Speaker, much has been said this morning about education and wasting of money. We spend some $12 billion a year in this country, $12 billion a year on bilingual education, which means we teach kids in other than the English language" (*Congressional Record*, March 13, 1996, p. H2127).

16. Reliable estimates are available for the number of LEP children enrolled in Title VII, Part A, classrooms — e.g., 349,500 in 1993 (Planning and Evaluation Service 1995). But these federally funded programs, both bilingual and alternative, serve only 10-15 percent of LEP students nationwide.

17. If the nation did indeed spend $12 billion a year on these students — an amount equivalent to average per pupil expenditures — the marginal cost of special language programs would be zero. That is, they would cost no more than placing children in mainstream classrooms.

18. Because this was not a random sample, the results are not "generalizable" to all programs for LEP students. Nevertheless, the cost differentials are instructive.

19. See, e.g., *U.S. News & World Report:* "What all these problems [with bilingual programs] add up to is impossible to say precisely, but one statistic is hard to ignore. The high-school dropout rate for Hispanic students is nearly 30 percent. It remains by far the highest of any ethnic group — four times that of whites, three times that of blacks — and it has not budged since bilingual education began" (Sept. 25, 1995, p. 46).

20. The early-exit programs used English two-thirds of the time in kindergarten, three-fourths of the time in 1st grade, and virtually all the time by 4th grade. The late-exit programs used English less than 10 percent of the time in kindergarten, 33 percent in 2nd grade, and 60 percent in grades 4 through 6. Finally, the immersion programs used English 94 to 98 percent of the time, with Spanish used only for purposes of clarification (Ramírez et al. 1991).

21. For a helpful summary of the Ramírez study and its implications, see Dolson & Mayer 1992.

22. This study applied meta-analysis to an earlier narrative review by Baker and de Kanter (1981), which — after disqualifying most studies — yielded negative findings about the effectiveness of bilingual instruction. Willig (1985) re-analyzed the same body of research, while statistically controlling for numerous variables that Baker and de Kanter had failed to consider. This meta-analysis found mean "effect sizes" favoring bilingual education over submersion. Perhaps more important, Willig determined that the better the quality of the study, the better the outcome for bilingual programs.

23. Testifying in a civil-rights lawsuit, Rossell described her 1988 study of LEP student performance in the Berkeley, Calif., schools, which judged the district's ESL program superior to its bilingual education program (Rossell 1990). But she could provide few pedagogical details. Rossell conceded that her conclusions were based on (1) three minutes of classroom observation, (2) brief conversations with teachers, and (3) a partial comparison of test results for about 20 percent of the district's LEP students (*Teresa P. v. Berkeley Unified School District,* Case No. C-87-2396-DLJ [N.D. Calif. 1989], trial transcript, pp. 12-2074, 2075).

24. The review cites only one such reference in the published literature — Gersten (1985) — a study involving only 28 immersion students and 16 bilingual students that has drawn sharp criticism from several quarters (see, e.g., Krashen 1996; Cummins 1988).

25. Rossell and Baker (1996) portray themselves as victims of a politicized "atmosphere in which it is difficult for anyone to criticize current policy in this field" without being regarded as racist. Guilt over the historic abuse of language minority students, they speculate, has encouraged many bilingual education researchers and practitioners to view "any policy which maintains the mother tongue, however inadequately, [as] equitable" (pp. 9-10). Yet they provide no evidence of such ideological bias among those with whom they disagree. Nor do they acknowledge the conservative agenda of the organization that has supported their own work, the Pioneer Institute for Public Policy Research.

26. One problem is that 94 percent of college students and 98 percent of high school students study just three modern languages: French, Spanish, and German (Brecht & Walton 1994).

27. These are among several studies in volume 16 of *The Journal of Educational Issues of Language Minority Students*, a special issue on parent involvement (Summer 1996).

28. E.g., in a 1985 survey, 98 percent of Hispanics in Dade County, Florida, said that it was essential for their children to "speak and write English perfectly," compared with only 94 percent of Anglo parents (cited in Crawford 1992).

29. In 1992, only 25 percent of LEP students were assessed in grade 4, 33 percent in grade 8, and 50 percent in grade 12. In 1994, these proportions increased to 50 percent, 50 percent, and 66 percent, respectively. Since 1995, NAEP has been working on ways to increase the percentage of LEP students assessed, developing new inclusion criteria and test adaptations that can gauge children's progress in valid and reliable ways. But field tests indicate that results for LEP students assessed with nonstandard procedures in 1996 will not be comparable to results for other students (Olson & Goldstein 1996).

30. When LEAs and schools were surveyed directly, they reported that only about 3 percent of LEP students went unserved; for an additional 9 percent, no information about instructional treatment was provided (Fleischman & Hopstock 1993). But SEAs tell a different story. In a survey by the Council

of Chief State School Officers, an average of 29 percent of LEP children received no language assistance in 32 responding states. In four states, more than 60 percent went unserved, and in one, 100 percent (CCSSO 1990).

31. Between 1981 and 1985, school districts were nine times less likely to be monitored for *Lau* compliance than between 1975 and 1980. OCR's *Lau* enforcement continued to decline until 1993, although precise figures are unavailable (Crawford 1995).

32. See, e.g., Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R-Calif.): "[W]hat laws we have passed, what regulations we have passed in this body, end up mandating, end up forcing, local schools to adopt bilingual education programs whether they want it or not, and it costs them a lot of money" (*Congressional Record*, March 21, 1994, p. H1717).

33. OCR has adopted the *Castañeda* standard, from a 1981 ruling by the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, as part of its *Lau* enforcement policy.

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